OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY

ISMAR J. PERITZ

MAY 10 1955

THE OLD
TESTAMENT WORLD
A 10 B 0 C 10 D 20 E 30 F 40 G 50 H 60 I 70 K 80 L 90 M 100 N 110 O 120
BRITISH ISLES
Tobolsk
Moscow
Tubal & Meshech
Magog
Descendants of
Arab Sea
Sinim
Sinim
Tarshish
Rhoumnim
Colonies of
Khittim
Kittim
Sea of Kittim
(Black Sea)
Ashkenaz
Riphath
Gomer
Togarmah
Mash
Aphaxad
NINEVEH
Media
Shushan
Ludim
Lehabim
Canaan
Ush
Persian Gulf
Persia
Elam
Japheth
Mizraim
Egypt
Thebes
Syene
Phrygia
Abimael
Shalaph
Ramah
Desc.ts of Ham
Modad
Jobab
Meroe
Seba
Sephar?
Jerach
Arabian Emp.ts
Hadoram
Dedan
(Aden)
Hindustan
Hindus (Shem)
TAPROBANE
(Ceylon)
Ham
Phut and other descendants of HAM
Pathrusim
Casluhim
Caphtorim
Javan
Tiras
Togarmah
Ashkenaz
Riphath
Gomer
Magog
Meshech
Tubal
Mash
Aram
Uz
Hul
Gether
Arphaxad
Elam
Asshur
Lud
Shem
Javan
Tiras

Bible Study Textbook Series

Old Testament History

BY

ISMAR J. PERITZ, Ph.D. (Harvard)

Professor of Biblical Languages and Literatures and Willard Ives Professor of the English Bible, Syracuse University

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UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

TO

CRAWFORD HOWELL TOY, LL.D.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

INSPIRING TEACHER AND NOBLE FRIEND

CONTENTS

PAGE

PUBLISHERS' ANNOUNCEMENT 13

PREFACE 15

INTRODUCTORY

INTRODUCTION 19

1. Our Interest in Old Testament History. 2. Main Divisions of Old Testament History.
Suggestions for Study.

CHAPTER I. THE SOURCES OF OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY 23

3. The Biblical Sources. 4. The Use of the Biblical Sources. 5. Classification of the Biblical Sources. 6. The Hebrew Laws. 7. Old Testament Historical Literature. 8. The Prophetic Literature as Historical Source. 9. The Liturgical Literature. 10. The Wisdom Literature. 11. The Apocalyptic Literature. 12. The Extra-Biblical Sources.
Suggestions for Study.

CHAPTER II. THE LAND OF PALESTINE 32

13. The Old Testament World. 14. The Boundaries of Palestine. 15. The Coast Plains. 16. The Central Plateau and the Valley of Esdraelon. 17. The Valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. 18. The East-Jordan Plateaus. 19. The Highways of Palestine. 20. The General Character of Palestine. 21. Israel's Neighbors.
Suggestions for Study.

PART I

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

From the Beginnings to the Death of Solomon—933 B. C.

CHAPTER III. THE FORMATION OF THE HEBREW TRIBES 43

1. The Origin of the Hebrew Race

22. The General Contents of Gen. 1 to 11. 23. The Two Accounts of the Creation. 24. The Two Accounts of the Flood. 25. The Tables of the Nations.
Suggestions for Study.

2. The Patriarchal Tribal Migrations

26. The General Contents of Gen. 12 to 50. 27. The History of Abraham. 28. The History of Jacob-Israel. 29. The Story of Joseph and His Brethren. 30. The Literary and Historical Character of the Patriarchal Stories.
Suggestions for Study.

PAGE

3. The Traditions of Genesis in the Light of Contemporaneous History

31. The Original Home and Migrations of the Semites. 32. The Amorite Migration. 33. The Elamite Ascendancy and Gen. 14. 34. The Reign of Hammurabi. 35. The Hyksos-Canaanite Migration. 36. The Tell el-Amarna Period. 37. The Hittites. 38. The Habiri. 39. The Aramean Migration. 40. Jacob-Israel. 41. The Patriarchal Tribal Mode of Life and Settlements. 42. The Descent into Egypt. 43. The Presuppositions of the Biblical Tradition.

Suggestions for Study.

CHAPTER IV. THE AWAKENING OF THE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS—MOSES 64

1. The Emancipation

44. The Biblical Sources. 45. The Egyptian Enslavement. 46. The Date of the Exodus. 47. The Call of Moses. 48. The Passover and the Exodus. 49. The Crossing of the Red Sea. 50. The Historical Situation.

Suggestions for Study.

2. The Life in the Desert

51. The Biblical Data. 52. The Provisions of the Desert. 53. The Hebrew Residence at Kadesh. 54. War with Amalek at Rephidim. 55. The Judicial Organization. 56. The Location of Horeb-Sinai.

Suggestions for Study.

3. The Religion of the Time of Moses

57. The Covenant at Horeb-Sinai. 58. The Hebrew Pre-Mosaic Religion. 59. The Enthronement of Jehovah. 60. The Legislation at Horeb-Sinai. 61. The Origin of Hebrew Law. 62. The Decalogue. 63. The Ritual Code and the Book of the Covenant. 64. The Ark of Jehovah. 65. The Tent of Meeting. 66. Rites and Festivals. 67. The Priests and Levites. 68. The Character and Achievement of Moses. 69. The Meaning of Moses for Subsequent History.

Suggestions for Study.

CHAPTER V. THE CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT OF PALESTINE. 96

1. The Biblical Sources

70. The Contents of the Book of Joshua. 71. The Contents of the Book of Judges. 72. The Character of the Biblical Sources. 73. The Two Views of the Conquest. 74. The Framework of the History of the Judges. 75. The Elements of P and J and E. 76. The Sources for the Conquest of South and East Palestine.

Suggestions for Study.

2. The Invasion of Palestine

77. The Task of the Invaders. 78. The Southern Occupation. 79. The Occupation of Eastern Palestine. 80. The Occupation of Western Palestine. 81. The War of Deliverance.

Suggestions for Study.

EVANGELICAL SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

PAGE

3. The Tribal Heroes

82. Gideon. 83. Abimelech. 84. Jephthah. 85. Samson. 86. The Settlement of the Danites. 87. The Final Settlement of the Tribes.

Suggestions for Study.

4. The Social, Moral, and Religious Conditions during the Period of Occupation

88. The Social Life. 89. Government. 90. Culture. 91. Morals. 92. Religion.

Suggestions for Study.

CHAPTER VI. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MONARCHY..... 122

1. Samuel and Saul

93. The Philistine Aggressions. 94. Samuel and the Kingship. 95. Saul's Victory over the Philistines. 96. Samuel's Break with Saul.

Suggestions for Study.

2. The Rise of David

97. David at the Court of Saul. 98. David's Outlaw Life. 99. David among the Philistines. 100. The Philistine Victory and the Death of Saul. 101. The Achievements and Character of Saul.

Suggestions for Study.

3. David, King of Judah

102. David's Grief over the Death of Saul. 103. David Made King of Judah at Hebron. 104. Esh-baal, Saul's Successor 105. David Made King of Israel.

Suggestions for Study.

CHAPTER VII. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL MONARCHY—DAVID..... 136

106. The Wars of Deliverance from the Philistines. 107. The Establishment of the National Capital at Jerusalem. 108. David's Wars of Conquest. 109. The Organization of David's Kingdom and Internal Affairs. 110. David's Family Life. 111. Absalom's Rebellion. 112. The Rebellion of Sheba. 113. The Last Days of David. 114. The Character and Achievements of David.

Suggestions for Study.

CHAPTER VIII. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL RESOURCES—SOLOMON..... 149

1. The Reign of Solomon

115. The Accession of Solomon. 116. The Policy of Solomon. 117. Solomon's Palace and Temple. 118. The Character and Achievements of Solomon.

Suggestions for Study.

PAGE

2. Life During the Monarchy

119. Social Life. 120. Culture. 121. Religion.
Suggestions for Study.

PART II

THE PERIOD OF THE PROPHETS

From the Division of the Kingdom, 933 B. C., to the Restoration under Cyrus, 538 B. C.

CHAPTER IX. The Kingdom of Israel 163

From the Division of the Kingdom to the Fall of Samaria—933–722 B. C.

1. The Division of the Kingdom

122. The Biblical Sources. 123. The Division and Its Causes. 124. The Political Consequences. 125. The Religious Consequences. 126. From Jeroboam I to Omri.
Suggestions for Study.

2. The Dynasty of Omri

127. The Reign of Omri. 128. Political Events in Israel and Judah to Jehu.
Suggestions for Study.

3. The Religious and Social Crisis in Israel

129. Baalism. 130. The Champions of Jehovah against Baalism. 131. The Contest on Carmel. 132. The Theophany at Horeb. 133. The Interview of Elisha with Hazael. 134. The Anointing and Commission of Jehu. 135. Israel and Judah's Decline.
Suggestions for Study.

4. The Political Recovery of Israel and Judah

136. The Reign of Jehoash. 137. The Reigns of Jeroboam II and Uzziah.
Suggestions for Study.

5. The Social and Religious Life of the Divided Kingdom to the New Prophetism

138. The Biblical Data. 139. The Political and Social Ideals. 140. The Religious and Ethical Ideals.
Suggestions for Study.

6. The New Prophetism

141. The Biblical Data. 142. The Character of the New Prophetism. 143. The Prophet Amos. 144. The Book of Amos. 145. The Message of Amos. 146. The Elohist Source in the Hexateuch.
Suggestions for Study.

7. The End of the Northern Kingdom

147. The Political Changes after Jeroboam II. 148. The Prophet Hosea. 149. The Message of Hosea. 150. The Prophet Isaiah. 151. The Writings of Isaiah. 152. The Syro-Ephraimitic War. 153. The Siege of Samaria. 154. The Prophet Micah. 155. The Fall of Samaria. 156. The Origin of the Samaritans. 157. The Contribution of the Northern Kingdom.
Suggestions for Study.

PAGE

CHAPTER X. THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM, 586 B.C. 194

1. King Hezekiah and the Prophet Isaiah

158. Events in Assyria, Egypt, and Babylonia. 159. Hezekiah's Reformation. 160. Isaiah and Sargon's Campaign against Ashdod. 161. The Babylonian Embassy of Merodach-Baladan. 162. The Pro-Egyptian Policy. 163. Sennacherib's Invasion. 164. The Character and Achievements of Isaiah.
Suggestions for Study.

2. The Religious Reaction under Manasseh and the Law of Deuteronomy

165. The Character of the Reaction. 166. The Problem of the Prophetic Party. 167. The Law of Deuteronomy. 168. The Purpose of the Law.
Suggestions for Study.

3. The Reign of Josiah

169. The Prophets Nahum, Zephaniah, and Jeremiah. 170. The Finding of the Book of the Law. 171. The Great Reformation. 172. The Significance of the Deuteronomic Covenant. 173. The Death of Josiah.
Suggestions for Study.

4. The Prophet Jeremiah and the End of Judah

174. The Sources. 175. The Earlier Life and Activity of Jeremiah. 176. The Reign of Jehoiakim. 177. Jeremiah's Courage. 178. The Rise of Babylonia. 179. The Prophet Habakkuk. 180. The First Deportation to Babylon. 181. Zedekiah's Reign and Rebellion. 182. Jeremiah's Contest with the Pro-Egyptian Party. 183. The Prophet Ezekiel. 184. The Siege of Jerusalem. 185. The Capture of the King and the Destruction of Jerusalem. 186. The Murder of Gedaliah. 187. The Character and Message of Jeremiah.
Suggestions for Study.

CHAPTER XI. THE EXILE 217

1. The Centers of the Exiles

188. The Exile as a Transition. 189. Fallen Judah and Its Neighbors. 190. The Exiles in Egypt. 191. The Exiles in Babylonia. 192. Ezekiel's Activity Among the Exiles. 193. The Character and Message of Ezekiel.
Suggestions for Study.

2. The Literature of the Exile

194. The Literary Activity of the Exile. 195. The Prophetic Literature. 196. The Law of Holiness.
Suggestions for Study.

4. The Great Prophet of the Exile

197. The Later Years of the Exile. 198. The Rise of Cyrus. 199. Prophecies on the Downfall of Babylon. 200. The Great Prophet of the Exile. 201. The Character and Message of Deutero-Isaiah.
Suggestions for Study.

PAGE

5. The Religious and Social Teachings of the Prophets

202. The Prophet as a Religious and Social Force. 203. The Ethical Monotheism of the Prophets. 204. The Moral and Spiritual Nature of Religion. 205. The Social and Democratic Ideals of the Prophets. 206. The Optimism of the Prophets.
Suggestions for Study.

PART III

THE PERIOD OF THE PRIESTS AND SCRIBES

From Cyrus, 538 B. C., to Herod I, 4 B. C.

CHAPTER XII. The Restoration of the Jewish Community. 239

(The Persian Period, 538-333 B. C.)

1. The Reawakening of the Jewish Community in Palestine—Sheshbazzar

207. The Persian Rulers. 208. The Biblical Sources. 209. The Edict of Cyrus.
Suggestions for Study.

2. The Rebuilding of the Temple—Zerubbabel

210. The Rebuilding of the Temple. 211. The Prophet Haggai. 212. The Laying of the Foundations of the Temple. 213. The Prophet Zechariah. 214. The Dedication of the Temple. 215. The Condition of the Jewish Community. 216. The Book of Malachi. 217. Isaiah 56 to 59.
Suggestions for Study.

3. The Reorganization Under Nehemiah

218. The Biblical Sources. 219. The Condition of Jerusalem. 220. Nehemiah Governor of Jerusalem. 221. The Opposition. 222. The Completion of the Walls. 223. Nehemiah's Other Reforms. 224. The Reforms of Nehemiah's Second Term. 225. The Character and Achievements of Nehemiah.
Suggestions for Study.

4. Ezra and the Institution of the Priestly Law

226. The Biblical Sources. 227. The Return Under Ezra. 228. Ezra's Marriage Reforms. 229. The Reading of the Law. 230. The Adoption of the Priestly Law. 231. The Character of the Priestly Law. 232. The Effect of the Institution of the Law. 233. The Establishment of the Samaritan Community.
Suggestions for Study.

5. The Suffering Community and the Problem of Job

234. The Last Decades of the Persian Rule. 235. The Prophecy of Joel. 236. The Problem of the Book of Job.
Suggestions for Study.

PAGE

6. The Religious and Social Ideals Under the Law

237. Religious Conceptions. 238. Religious Institutions. 239. Protests Against Particularism. 240. The Jewish Piety of the Psalms.
Suggestions for Study.

CHAPTER XIII. JUDAISM IN CONTACT WITH HELLENISM..... 278

(The Greek Period, 333-175 B. C.)

1. The Political Events

241. General Character of the Greek Period. 242. Effects of the Conquest of Alexander the Great. 243. The Conditions Under the Seleucids. 244. The Conditions Under the Ptolemies. 245. The Syrian Conquest of Palestine.
Suggestions for Study.

2. The Literature of the Greek Period

246. The Prophetic Literature. 247. The Chronicler's Ecclesiastical History.
Suggestions for Study.

3. The Wisdom Literature and Its Ideals

248. The Wisdom Literature. 249. The Book of Proverbs. 250. The Book of Ecclesiasticus. 251. The Book of Ecclesiastes. 252. The Psalms of Reflection. 253. The Religious, Moral, and Social Ideals of the Wisdom Literature.

4. Secular Poetry and the Influence of Hellenism

254. The Song of Solomon. 255. The Influence of Hellenism.
Suggestions for Study.

CHAPTER XIV. JUDAISM IN CONFLICT WITH HELLENISM..... 292

(The Maccabean Period, 175–63 B. C.)

1. The Crisis of Judaism

256. The Biblical Sources. 257. Antiochus Epiphanes. 258. The Hellenistic Jewish High Priests. 259. The Religious Persecutions. 260. The Jewish Martyrs.
Suggestions for Study.

2. The Book of Daniel

261. The Origin and Content of the Book. 262. Its Character and Purpose.
Suggestions for Study.

3. The Maccabean Uprising

263. The Revolt of Mattathias and His Sons. 264. Judas Maccabeus. 265. The Restoration of the Temple Service. 266. The Jews of Egypt.
Suggestions for Study.

PAGE

CHAPTER XV. The Rule of the Maccabean Priests.. .. 303

1. The Reestablishment of Religious and National Independence

267. The Wars of Judas. 268. The Establishment of Religious Liberty. 269. The High Priest Alcimus. 270. Judas's Alliance with Rome, and His Death. 271. Jonathan and the Beginnings of Political Independence. 272. The End of Jonathan. 273. Simon and the Establishment of National Independence. 274. The Death of Simon.

Suggestions for Study.

2. The Conflicts Between Pharisees and Sadducees

275. The Rise of the Parties of the Pharisees and Sadducees. 276. John Hyrcanus and the National Growth. 277. The Later Hasmonean Rulers. 278. Alexander Jannæus. 279. Alexandra. 280. Aristobulus II. 281. Pompey's Capture of Jerusalem.

Suggestions for Study.

3. The Literature and Life of the Maccabean Period

282. The Maccabean Psalms. 283. The Book of Esther. 284. The Book of Judith. 285. The Book of Tobit.

Suggestions for Study.

CHAPTER XVI. The Jews Under Roman Rule..... 318

(The Roman Period, 63 B. C. to 70 A. D.)

1. The Loss of Jewish Independence

286. The Rivalries of the Hasmoneans. 287. The Rise of Antipater. 288. The Sons of Antipater, Phasael and Herod. 289. The Parthians in Syria. 290. The Reign of Antigonus. 291. The Reign of Herod. 292. The Character of Herod.

Suggestions for Study.

2. The Developed Form of Judaism

293. The Scribes. 294. The Legislation of the Scribes. 295. The Synagogue. 296. The Synagogue as a Social Center. 297. The Synagogue Assemblies. 298. The Synagogue Service. 299. Jewish Parties. 300. The Pharisees. 301. The Sadducees. 302. The Essenes. 303. Zealots and Herodians. 304. The Conception of God. 305. The Ethical Ideals. 306. The Messianic Hopes. 307. The Messianic Conception of the Suffering Servant. 308. Summary.

Suggestions for Study.

Selected Bibliography..... 334

MAPS

The Old Testament World. Frontispiece.

Modern Palestine, with Ancient Towns and Highways. Facing page 32.

United and Divided Hebrew Kingdoms. Facing page 122.

Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Empires. Facing page 136.

Palestine During the Greek and Roman Periods. Facing page 292.

PUBLISHERS' ANNOUNCEMENT

For some time past there has been a growing conviction of the need of a more complete and comprehensive study of the Bible in all the colleges. Quite recently the matter has received new emphasis and practical direction. A complete course of Bible study has been outlined by a joint committee representing the Eastern and Western sections of the Association of College Instructors in the Bible, the departments of colleges and universities and of teacher training of the Religious Education Association, the Student Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., and Sunday School Council.

In harmony with the action just noted The Abingdon Press has arranged for the prompt publication of a series of Bible study texts. The complete course will include the following books: Old Testament History, by Prof. Ismar J. Peritz, of Syracuse University; New Testament History, by Dr. Harris Franklin Rall, President of Iliff School of Theology; The Bible as Literature, by Prof. Irving F. Wood and Prof. Elihu Grant, of Smith College; Social Institutions and Ideals of the Bible, by Prof. Theodore G. Soares, University of Chicago; and The History and Principles of Religious Education, by Prof. F. H. Swift, University of Minnesota.

The volumes on New Testament History and The Bible as Literature have been in use during the college year 1914-1915. Professor Peritz's volume on Old Testament History and Professor Soares' Social Institutions and Ideals of the Bible are now published. The last book in the series, The History and Principles of Religious Education by Professor Swift, is in preparation and will be ready for use in the second semester of 1915-1916. These books have been prepared with a view to the requirements of the college course

and the needs of the students. The authors are acknowledged experts in their respective fields—scholars and teachers of wide repute. The publishers cordially commend this course to the attention of Bible students and teachers everywhere.

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PREFACE

THE present treatment of Old Testament history aims to conform to the object of the series as handbooks to Bible study. The Bible itself is, accordingly, the main primary source. In each section the biblical text, as indicated in the margin, is the basis of the discussion, and requires the first attention of the student. Where the biblical material is most abundant the history is consequently the fullest. But it has become increasingly evident that the material of the Bible is not chronologically arranged, but that accounts centuries apart in their origin and point of view are often found side by side or interwoven with each other. The recognition of this fact is the result of the historical and scientific method of the Bible study of our day. It will account for the order and method here adopted. If the reason for the procedure is not always fully stated, it is due to the design of the series not to deal so much with the process as with the results achieved. Only where silence would leave the biblical situation obscure was it deemed necessary to enter into the discussion of critical questions, and then only in the briefest way possible. The logical movement of Old Testament history which is the outcome of the critical use of the biblical material proves ultimately its strongest justification.

But it should not be forgotten that there is strict practical religious value in biblical criticism. For it has become evident that the uncritical use of the Bible in taking everything just as it stands has led in large measure to a distortion of God's way in dealing with man. Biblical criticism, which accounts for many abnormal situations in Old Testament history, renders an important service not only in making us see just exactly what the Bible is, but also in making us see that God dealt with people in biblical times very much in the same way as he deals with us now.

A source of information of highest value in Bible study,

and ranking next to the Bible itself, are the discoveries in Bible lands with which our time has been remarkably favored. Wherever possible, attention has been called to the light from the monuments and other finds upon the biblical passage under discussion.

The purpose of Religious Education which underlies this series has naturally determined the choice in the many interests which the Bible offers. The emphasis has consequently been placed upon the distinguished personalities, the religious, moral, and social ideas, and fundamental institutions of the Old Testament, rather than upon mere historical events; and the latter have been dealt with only in so far as they are needed to explain the historical background of the former.

Underlying the entire treatment of the subject is the conviction that "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in a Son," which means that the Old Testament history is a divine revelation preparatory to and culminating in the person and teachings of Jesus Christ, the Prophet of Nazareth. It is, therefore, in the light of the highest stage of the development of divine revelation that the values of Old Testament ideals are here estimated. This will account for the frankness with which the lower moral and spiritual ideals, or, in other words, the faults of the saints of the Old Testament, as well as their virtues, have been pointed out. For he that lives in the broad daylight of divine revelation has no need to fear the dangers that lurk in the twilight or the dark. The best evidence of the divine character of biblical religion lies, not in its inception or earlier stages, but in its culmination.

The object held in view was to obtain clear-cut moral and spiritual ideals for the religious and moral education of our own time.

Syracuse University, 1915.

INTRODUCTORY

INTRODUCTION

1. Our Interest in Old Testament History. Old Testament history is the history of the Hebrews who have prolonged their existence for over three thousand years to the present time on a high level of civilization. The history of such a people deserves our study for its own sake as prompted by our interest in the human race. The outcome of this history is a collection of literature which is full of references to ancient life, and to those interested in antiquity Old Testament history offers a rich field. But the Hebrews did not live merely for themselves; men like Moses, David, or Isaiah have affected the history of civilization, particularly our own civilization, and if we would know the sources whence came many of the priceless contributions to our civilization, Old Testament history will be to us of great historical interest. Yet, after all, our chief interest is religious. If the Greeks had the genius for art, and the Romans for law, the Hebrews had the genius for religion. The conceptions of a personal God who revealed himself in history, a divinely authoritative code of morals, and the hope of a universal kingdom of God are the contributions of this genius to the well-being of humanity.

But this religious interest is enhanced by the fact that Christianity has its roots in Old Testament history. Christ's personal life and teachings presuppose the religious and ethical ideas of the Old Testament. The new element that Christianity brings is represented as the fulfillment of Old Testament hopes and promises, and throughout the entire New Testament the Old Testament is regarded as the preparation for the complete divine revelation in the person of Christ. For this reason an intelligent appreciation of

the character and mission of Christianity requires a knowledge of Old Testament history.

2. **Main Divisions of Old Testament History.** Hebrew history is thus predominantly religious history. Its political aspects are comparatively insignificant, and consist of a series of conquests by Assyria, Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, Greece, and Rome. But while these conquests bring Israel into the vortex of international movements, they are significant mainly for what drift they gave to the development of Hebrew religion, the divinely assigned task in the making of civilization.

With regard to this religious tendency in Hebrew history, we may divide it into three main periods, as follows:

I. The Formative Period, extending from its earliest beginnings to the Death of Solomon, 933 B. C. During this period the Hebrew people passed through the various stages of their *material* development until it had reached its height under David and Solomon.

II. The Period of the Prophets, extending from the Division of the Monarchy, upon the death of Solomon, to the Restoration in the time of Cyrus, 933-538 B. C. During this period the Hebrew state passed through various stages of dissolution, ending in the exile. It gave the prophets of Israel the occasion to view religious truth apart from the national life. It aided them to attain to their highest conceptions in religion and morals, consisting in a pure ethical monotheism, that is, the belief in one personal and holy God, and a broad universalism.

III. The Period of the Priests, extending from the Restoration in the time of Cyrus to Herod I, 538 B. C.—4 B. C. During this period the Jewish national life developed into a church rather than a state, into a hierarchy instead of a monarchy. The emphasis was upon the Law, ritualism, and a narrow exclusivism. The result was the formation of petty sects, each with its own national hopes and aspirations.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Consider the various interests that call for the study of Old Testament history as compared with other ancient or modern peoples, and note the particular religious and moral interest.

2. Commit to memory the main divisions of Old Testament history, with the dates; and regard it as the frame to be filled in with living facts in the subsequent study.

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES OF OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY

3. The Biblical Sources. The biblical sources in their present form consist of canonical, apocryphal, and pseudepigraphal collections:

1. The Canonical Scriptures the Hebrews arranged on a different principle from that in the Greek and Latin Bibles, followed in the English Bible, and the arrangement is as follows:

(1) *The Law.* Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy.

(2) *The Prophets.* (*a*) The "Former" Prophets—Joshua, Judges, First and Second Samuel, First and Second Kings. (*b*) The "Latter" Prophets—(a) "Major" Prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel; (b) "Minor" Prophets: Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi.

(3) *The Writings.* Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, First and Second Chronicles.

2. The Apocrypha contain: First and Second Esdras, Tobit, Judith, The Rest of Esther, The Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, with the Epistle of Jeremiah, The Song of the Three Holy Children, The History of Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, The Prayer of Manasses, First and Second Maccabees. These writings, which in many respects resemble the canonical books, the Jews regarded as of inferior inspiration; but the Greek Bible in common use in the early church contained them intermingled with the canonical books.

3. The Pseudepigrapha is the title given to some apocryphal books not included in the Greek Bible or English editions of the Apocrypha, which include: Third and Fourth Maccabees, The Psalms of Solomon, The Book of Enoch, The Assumption of Moses, The Apocalypse of Baruch, The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, The Book of Jubilees, The Ascension of Isaiah, and the Sibylline Oracles. They belong to the closing centuries of the Old Testament era, and as products of it require attention.

4. **The Use of the Biblical Sources.** In writing any history our first task is to inquire where we shall find the materials for it. The answer for the Old Testament seems very simple. These are given in the books of the Old Testament. As soon, however, as we examine these writings closely we find that they cannot be used in this simple and direct manner. A careful study reveals certain facts upon which practically all scholars are now agreed.

1. These writings are not simply history, and were not intended as such. They were written for a moral and religious purpose, to show how Jehovah had guided and helped the nation, and by the use of the past to warn the people of sin and to teach them the right way. In one sense they are sermons rather than history as usually conceived.

2. Most of these writings have had a long literary history, and earlier accounts have been combined by later writers, while still later writers revised and edited the material, making changes to harmonize the different narratives. This makes the task of the historian somewhat more difficult. He must try, as far as possible, to discover the original sources and to determine which elements are the more authentic and the more valuable; nor can he neglect to make use of the valuable material contained in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the main sources of information for the two centuries preceding the Christian era.

5. **Classification of the Biblical Sources.** The biblical

material is substantially the literature of the Hebrew people for the period under discussion in which all the various types of literary composition are represented. We may distinguish six types: (1) Law; (2) History; (3) Prophecy; (4) Liturgy; (5) Wisdom; (6) Apocalypse.

6. The Hebrew Laws. Among the earliest literary products of the Hebrews we must place their laws, starting in simple collections and reaching the form of extensive codes of law. These codes are now imbedded in the historical narratives of Exodus-Deuteronomy, yet not so but that it is possible to distinguish them. There are seven such codes: (1) *The Decalogue,* Exod 20. 1-17; Deut 5. 6-21, found in two slightly varying rescensions, and embodying moral requirements; (2) *The Ritual Decalogue,* Exod 34. 10-26, consisting of simple requirements relating to the religious cult; (3) *The Social Code,* Deut 27. 15-26, relating chiefly to social duties; (4) *The Book of the Covenant* (so called Exod 24. 7), Exod 20. 22 to 23. 19, containing both civil and ritual laws in greater detail; (5) *The Deuteronomic Law,* Deut 12 to 26. 28; which is an evident expansion of the Book of the Covenant; (6) *The Law of Holiness,* Lev 17 to 26, containing mainly ritual legislation, and characterized by enforcing the requirements on the ground of Jehovah's holiness (19. 2); (7) *The Priests' Code,* embracing all the other legislation in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers not already assigned, being the most extensive, and supplementing them all.

A comparison of these codes reveals the fact that they are bodies of laws that originated during the various epochs in Old Testament history, covering the nine centuries between Moses and Ezra, illustrating the various stages of the development in Israel's political, social, and religious life.

7. Old Testament Historical Literature. The making of history precedes the writing of history, and the telling of heroic deeds by word of mouth precedes the more formal recording of historical events. It was so among the

Hebrews. A long period of oral tradition preceded that of written history. The stories of the patriarchs, the achievements of Moses, and the heroic deeds of the conquerors of the promised land were first told or sung by word of mouth.

The beginnings of the writing of Hebrew history in poetry may be found in the Song of Deborah (Judg 5) and the songs in Num 21, taken from "the book of the Wars of Jehovah," and Exod 15. 21.

In the writing of history in prose we may distinguish the following stages:

1. The accounts of the events leading to the establishment of the Hebrew monarchy, contained in the older element of 1 Sam to 1 Kings 2. It is in the reign of David that we first meet an official recorder.

2. The Jehovistic historian (J) who composed a history from the creation to the conquest of Palestine about 850 B. C.

3. The Elohistic historian (E) who composed a similar history about a century later.

4. The Deuteronomistic historian (D) who wrote during the exile and viewed the history of his people from the point of view of the great prophets of the eighth to the sixth centuries, finding its fullest expression in the law of the book of Deuteronomy. This historian, like the prophets, taught that Israel's prosperity was due to faithfulness to Jehovah and its misfortunes to faithlessness. Using this religious estimate as a measure, each event or personality is made to teach a moral and religious lesson. The books of Kings; the framework of the book of Judges; Deut 1 to 11; 27; 29f.; and the history of the conquest of Canaan in the book of Joshua are written from this point of view.

5. The Priestly historian (P) wrote during the fifth century B. C., also a history from creation to the conquest of Palestine, but from the point of view of the priest. He emphasizes ritual elements and traces back to the time of

Moses the laws of Israel developed through a period of eight centuries of national life.

It was the Priestly historian who gave final form to the Pentateuch or five books of Moses, or to the Hexateuch, including also the book of Joshua. The literary history of this biblical material is as follows: First, J and E were combined; later D was added; and, finally, P was added to complete the whole.

6. The Ecclesiastical historian, who lived about 300 B. C., went afresh over the ground covered by the historical books from Genesis to Second Kings, and extended it to nearly within a century of his own time. This work is now contained in the books First and Second Chronicles and Ezra and Nehemiah, which were originally all one book. He gives us an instructive glimpse into the method which he used in compiling his historical work, for he mentions a number of the sources from which he drew (2 Chron 16. 11; 33. 18; 35. 27). He also used the personal diaries of Ezra and Nehemiah and Aramaic documents which he inserts without translating. This historian adds a fresh point of view of Old Testament history—that of the churchman—and his work has not inaptly been called the "Ecclesiastical Chronicle of Jerusalem."

As additional historical matter we must mention the didactic stories of Judith and Esther, Jonah and Ruth, and the book of Tobit. Of similar character are the Jewish martyr stories, such as the stories of Daniel and the three Jewish youths in Babylon, found in the book of Daniel and in apocryphal books such as the Greek or Septuagint additions to Daniel, consisting of the Song of the Three Holy Children, the Story of Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon; and third and fourth Maccabees. The purpose of these stories was to fortify Jewish faith against the temptations to fall into heathenism.

7. The Maccabean history is given us in two books of rather unlike merit, First and Second Maccabees. First

Maccabees is a historical work of the first rank, but Second Maccabees was written to teach religious lessons rather than history.

8. **The Prophetic Literature as Historical Source.** Written prophecy, beginning with Amos in the eighth century and continuing to the sixth, furnishes one of the most valuable historical sources for Hebrew history. It embraces the prophetical books of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. They are rich in details of the personal histories of the prophets themselves; they reveal the political, social, moral, and religious conditions of their time in most strikingly realistic colors; and they render abundant historical material for all the various phases of national life.

The use of the material requires discrimination on account of the fact that the prophetical books are not chronologically arranged. It is often difficult to determine exactly the historical background for certain utterances. They have also undergone editorial revision by later hands, all of which demands that a discriminating method be followed in the use of the material.

9. **The Liturgical Literature.** Liturgy, which is the expression of public or private devotion, consisting of prayer and religious song, is found early in Hebrew life; but its full development belongs late in the period of the Priests. Its chief product is the collection of hymns in the book of Psalms, sometimes called the hymn book of the second temple. We should include here also the book of Lamentations, and a collection of eighteen psalms, known as the Psalms of Solomon. We must also include the collection of songs, suitable for wedding occasions, contained in the Song of Solomon, with which might be compared Psalm 45, celebrating a king's wedding.

The subject-matter of these hymns is exceedingly diverse; and as reflecting a great variety of national and

personal sentiments, aspirations, and hopes, they are valuable historical sources.

10. The Wisdom Literature. "Wisdom Literature" is the designation of those Hebrew writings which deal with universal moral and religious principles, represented by Job, certain Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus (Ben-Sira), Ecclesiastes, and the Wisdom of Solomon—it is the expression of Hebrew philosophic thought, which is highly practical. Popular proverbs and fables, expressing the result of common-sense experience and observation, are met with early in Hebrew history; and they increase in depth with the growth of the national life. But the systematic discussion of the deeper problems of life is the outgrowth of Jewish contact with a wider world. This literature was the contribution of the sages or philosophers, who formed a distinct class from the prophets, priests, or scribes, and who gave themselves particularly to the study of universal moral truth, reaching the heights of Hebrew intellectualism. For this phase of Old Testament history the Wisdom Literature offers important material.

11. The Apocalyptic Literature. This is the title to a unique form of Hebrew writings, characterized by highly fantastic figures, cast in the mold of prophecy of future events foretelling the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth, accompanied by the reward of the just and the punishment of the wicked. The beginnings of this type of literature are found in the canonical books, Ezek 38 to 39; Isa 24 to 27; Joel; Zech 12 to 14; and Daniel; but it reaches its full development in the Book of Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Book of Jubilees, the Ascension of Isaiah, and the Sibylline Oracles. Apocalyptic thought gave the dominant note to the Judaism of the two pre-Christian centuries; and in its atmosphere Christianity was born.

12. The Extra-Biblical Sources. Of inestimable value

for the understanding of Old Testament history, and outweighing all other extra-biblical sources, are the results of excavations and research in Bible lands. Assyria and Babylonia, Syria and Palestine, Arabia and Egypt, have all yielded richly in monuments with inscriptions, clay tablets and papyri, linguistic aids, identification of sites, a variety of relics illustrative of ancient life, which altogether have brought the ancient civilization, as it were, to life again. It is true that much of the material is, comparatively speaking, too fresh and undigested to make the conclusions based upon it completely acceptable to scholars. But the material is constantly increasing, and one discovery aids another. In many cases vagueness and uncertainty have given way to certainty; and, in addition to adding new life and interest, biblical archæology has proven to be a helpful handmaid to the study of Old Testament history. Literature on the subject will be found in the Select List appended to this volume.

Among other extra-biblical sources the works of Josephus occupy the most prominent place. His Jewish War covers the period from Antiochus Epiphanes to the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, including the taking of Masada, the last stronghold of the Jewish insurgents against Rome, that is, from 175 B. C. to 73 A. D. His Antiquities is a more pretentious historical work, running parallel with the biblical histories, which he, of course, uses, and extending to the beginning of the Roman war. Josephus participated in the struggle that led to the final destruction of the Jewish state, and should be a reliable source of history for that period. But it is evident that he writes as a partisan, and colors his story. But in many instances he quotes other sources no longer extant; and while he has to be used with great caution, his work is too valuable to be neglected.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Consider the Old Testament in its character of a library con-

taining a variety of literary productions, and note the place that the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha have in it.

2. Consider the historical origin of these literary productions and note how they must be used for historical purposes.

3. Obtain a clear view of the character of each of the five varieties of literature and note what books or portion of books fall under each variety.

4. Note the character of the extra-biblical sources.

CHAPTER II

THE LAND OF PALESTINE

13. The Old Testament World. The Old Testament World may, roughly speaking, be said to be inclosed by five bodies of water, namely, the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the Caspian Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea. The countries lying along these waters prominently associated with Hebrew history are Arabia, in the center, most probably the original home of the Hebrews as of the Semitic race in general; Babylonia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia, lying north in the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris; Egypt, in the Nile valley to the south; and the "Isles of the Sea," by which are meant the coastlands as well as the islands of the Mediterranean as far west as Tarshish in Spain. In the very center of the entire region lies Palestine, or Canaan, the land of the Hebrews.

14. The Boundaries of Palestine. The ideal boundaries of Canaan are "the entrance of Hamath" in the north, the "River of Egypt" in the south, the Great Sea in the west, and the Desert in the east (Gen 15. 18; Num 34. 1-12). This would make Canaan include Syria as far north as the valley of the Orontes, east to the Euphrates, and south as far as Kadesh. But the northern and southern extremes were commonly expressed by the phrase "from Dan even to Beersheba" (Judg 20. 1). Within this definition the land of Canaan was about one hundred and fifty miles long and one hundred miles broad. It divides itself naturally into four zones, the lines running parallel from north to south, and consisting of (1) the Coast Plains;

, 1906, by Charles Foster Kent

(2) the Central Plateau and the Valley of Esdraelon; (3) the Jordan and the Dead Sea Valley; and (4) the East-Jordan Plateaus.

15. The Coast Plains. These plains run along the shore of the Mediterranean, and vary in width from five miles in the north to twenty-five miles in the south; the narrowest points are at Carmel, where it is but two hundred yards wide, and the so-called "Ladder of Tyre," where it touches the sea. These plains are well watered and extremely fertile, producing a great variety of tropical fruits and cereals. The region has always been sought for its productivity; and in modern times European Jews have largely colonized upon it.

We may distinguish three divisions of these plains: 1. *The Phœnician Plain,* reaching as far south as Carmel, varying from two to five miles in width. It had good harbors, well utilized by the Phœnician traders and colonizers. Its chief cities were Berytus (the modern Beirut), Sidon, Zarephath, Tyre, Achzib, and Accho. 2. *The Plain of Sharon* extends from Carmel southward to Joppa, and is about sixty miles long. From the Nahr Zerka, or Crocodile River, southward it widens from six to twelve miles. Here and there small groves of oaks are still seen, the remains of extended forests. It is the land of wild flowers, suggested by the "Rose of Sharon" and the lily of the valley. In biblical references it is celebrated for its fertility and beauty, and even now possesses rich olive and orange groves. The Aujeh, which passes through it, is, next to the Jordan, the largest river of Palestine. Its main towns in Old Testament times were Japho (the modern Joppa) and Dor, and in New Testament times, Cæsarea. 3. *The Philistine Plain* extends about fifty miles southward of Joppa, and is the widest and most fertile of the plains. Its ancient Philistine cities were Ekron, Gath, Ashdod, Askelon, and Gaza; but within this plain lay also the ancient Canaanite towns of Libnah and Lachish. The

latter has yielded rich finds illustrating the old Canaanite civilization.

Between the Philistine plain and the mountains of Judah lies a series of low foothills, separated from the mountains by continuous breaks from five hundred to a thousand feet in depth; this is the biblical *Shephelah,* or Lowland. It was the border land between Judah and the Philistines, and the witness of many a fight between the two rivals. The wadies, or valleys, forming the approach to the Judæan mountains are the *Valley of Ajalon,* with its Canaanite stronghold of Gezer; the *Valley of Sorek,* the *Valley of Elah,* and the *Valley of Zephathah.*

16. The Central Plateau and the Valley of Esdraelon. Both the plateaus of western and eastern Palestine are the continuation of the Lebanon mountain range of Syria. The western, or central, plateau divides naturally into the mountains of Galilee, broken by the valley of Esdraelon; the mountains of Ephraim or Samaria, the mountains of Judah, and the *Negeb,* or South-Country. Ideally, as indicated above, the northern border of Israel extended to the "entrance of Hamath," on the Orontes; and then the two Lebanon ranges, Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, would fall within Israel's territory. The southern continuation of the Anti-Lebanon range reaches nigh unto Dan in the snow-capped Hermon. The mountains of Galilee fall into two divisions—upper and lower Galilee. The hills of Upper Galilee rise to a height of between two and four thousand feet and form an upper terrace of rolling elevated plateaus. Lower Galilee constitutes a southern, lower terrace, only nineteen hundred feet high, gradually sloping down to the valley of Esdraelon. Both sections are richly watered from the Lebanons, and exceedingly fertile.

The Plain of Esdraelon forms the third and last of the great terraces by which the Lebanons descend southward. It forms an equiangular triangle. Its base runs along Mount Carmel to Jenin for about twenty miles. Along

its northern side, fifteen miles in length, are the hills of Nazareth and Mount Tabor. Its eastern side, also fifteen miles long, extends from Mount Tabor to Jenin. Little Hermon, or *Moreh,* and Mount Gilboa jut into the plain. *The Plain of Jezreel* branches from Esdraelon eastward for fifteen miles to the Jordan, to ancient Bethshean. The plain of Esdraelon is watered by the hills which surround it and the river Kishon. In parts it is marshy, but it is an excellent grain field, although at present much neglected. Through it once led the great highway of the nations, and it was their great battlefield; and within it were situated the ancient Canaanite towns of Taanach and Megiddo, recently excavated with splendid results, and the Israelite city of Jezreel.

From the valley of Esdraelon to Beersheba, the central range is one mass of mountains, ninety miles long, interrupted only by narrow valleys. The northern part is *Mount Ephraim,* or the *Mountains of Samaria,* and the southern part, the *Mountains of Judah;* and the small strip between them is Benjamin. The two mountain regions differ considerably in verdure and fertility, becoming more barren and arid as they proceed southward; and this character is the only geographical means of distinction. The mountains of Samaria are like Lower Galilee—well watered and fertile. Here Mount Ebal rises three thousand and seventy-seven feet, and Mount Gerizim almost as much, with the valley of Shechem between them; Baal Hazor rises thirty-three hundred and eighteen feet; while running in a northwesterly direction to the sea is Mount Carmel, eighteen miles long and reaching to a height of eighteen hundred feet. Along the eastern end of Carmel runs the *Plain of Dothan,* leading from the maritime plains to the valley of Esdraelon. This was the country of the house of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh; and its cities of renown were Shechem, Dothan, Shilo, and Samaria.

The plateau of Benjamin belongs physically to Judah, and

it is like it in lack of fertility. Within its territory lay Mizpeh, Bethel, Ramah, Gibeah, and Gibeon; and it possessed the two passes, the Upper and Lower Beth-horon, commanding the ancient highway from the maritime plain.

The *Mountains of Judah* are, with the exception of a few narrow valleys and a fertile plateau south of Hebron, almost barren. The eastern slopes of its mountains, reaching to the Dead Sea, are truly called the *Wilderness of Judah;* the western slopes descend less abruptly to the foothills and the maritime plain.

South of Hebron, extending to Beersheba, and even Kadesh-Barnea, is what is called the *Negeb,* or South-Country. It is now a wild and desolate country, seventy miles long and fifty wide, but it was the scene of the patriarchal stories. Large sections of the region are capable of cultivation, but it is now the haunt of Bedouins.

17. **The Valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea.** It has been asserted that there is nothing on this planet to match the Jordan valley; no other part of our earth, uncovered by water, sinks three hundred feet below the level of the ocean. Some volcanic disturbance succeeded in creating a rift or ditch one hundred and sixty miles long and from two to fifteen miles broad, which falls from the sea level to twelve hundred and ninety-two feet below it, the bottom of the Dead Sea being thirteen hundred feet deeper still.

The *Jordan* rises in Mount Hermon, and there are four streams, uniting before they enter Lake Huleh, which contest the honor of being considered the source of the Jordan. Lake Huleh is really only a marsh; and from its lower end the Jordan enters the great rift, and descends a narrow gorge in one almost continuous cascade, falling six hundred and fifty feet in less than nine miles. Here it enters the *Sea of Galilee,* which is harp-shaped and twelve or thirteen miles long and eight miles broad, flanked east and west by high hills. The distance from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead

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Sea is sixty-five miles, but the many windings make the river twice the length. It is from ninety to one hundred feet broad, and the depth varies from three feet at some fords to as much as ten or twelve feet. The Arabs call the valley of the Jordan below the Sea of Galilee the *Ghor,* meaning "Rift"; and its climate and products are those of the tropics. The two principal tributaries of the Jordan are the Yarmuk and Jabbok, both coming from the east.

The plain widens near Jericho, and in ancient times was famous for its fertility and tropical luxuriance; but as it approaches the *Dead Sea,* the desert begins. The story of Sodom and Gomorrah, with its brimstone, fire, and pillar of salt, is a fit introduction to the description of the desolateness of the Dead Sea and its valley. The sea is fifty-three miles long and from nine to ten broad; it is twelve hundred and ninety feet below the level of the Mediterranean, and has no outlet, except evaporation. Its waters are beautifully blue and clear; but five times salter than ordinary sea water. On its banks is no vegetation, and the flanking hills on both sides are bare. All around it are sulphur and petroleum springs and evidences of volcanic eruptions; yet the region is not without its grandeur and beauty.

18. **The East-Jordan Plateaus.** The elevated plateau of the eastern side of the Jordan is the southern continuation of the Anti-Lebanon range, and rises to a height of from two to three thousand feet. It is well watered and surpasses western Palestine in verdure and fertility. In biblical terms the territory is divided into three main sections, proceeding from Mount Hermon southward, namely, Bashan, Gilead, and Moab. *Bashan* is the section covered by the Jaulan (or Golan) and Hauran districts, as far south as the Yarmuk river. The southeastern part of the Julan and Hauran produce abundantly wheat and barley in the rich, dark-red soil; the other parts are marked by their extinguished volcanoes and lava beds. *Gilead* lies

between the Yarmuk River and the wady Heshban; it is sixty miles wide, and of great fertility, due to the Jabbok. This country played an important part in Old Testament history; and Jabesh-Gilead, Rammoth-Gilead, and Rabbath-Ammon, are the familiar names of its chief cities. The *Land of Moab* occupied another sixty miles of eastern Palestine southward; and while it has grain fields, it is chiefly pasture land. The Arnon is its chief river; and it can boast of Mount Pisgah or Mount Nebo, four thousand feet above the level of the Dead Sea, furnishing a splendid point to view the landscape over.

19. **The Highways of Palestine.** Vital to national and international life are the highways which in ancient times took the place of our railroads. It appears that Palestine had a number of well-defined highways, which after a use of thousands of years still follow the same course. Foremost in importance were the roads that led from Babylonia and Assyria through Syria and Palestine to Egypt. There were two such roads: one led from Egypt along the maritime plains northward into Syria and through "the entrance of Hamath" into the Orontes valley to the Euphrates. This appears to have been the way of military expeditions, used not only by Babylonians, Assyrians, and Egyptians, but by the Greeks and Romans, and even by Napoleon. There can still be recognized inscriptions at Nahr El-Kelb, ten miles north of Beirut, which each invader carved into the native rock, and which are, unfortunately, as has been noticed, becoming more and more illegible. The other route led from Egypt eastward to Elath on the Gulf of Akabah, and thence northward through Petra, Edom, Moab, and Gilead, to Damascus; and thence eastward. It is in part the great pilgrim road along the edge of the desert from Mecca to Damascus, now traversed by the Turkish railroad, soon to be completed to Aleppo and Baghdad.

A road led from Phœnicia across the Lebanon to Damas-

cus, Palmyra, and the Euphrates; another from Philistia eastward to Petra and Duma to the Persian Gulf.

Within Palestine itself there were roads from Jerusalem to Hebron, Beersheba to Elath; or from Hebron to Gaza. A road to eastern Palestine led from Jerusalem to Jericho, and either crossing the Jordan at Jericho or following the Arabah, or Jordan valley, to Bethshean, and thence across the Jordan. From Jerusalem northward led a road by the way of the mountains of Benjamin and Ephraim; there was a road from Accho across the plain of Esdraelon, and down the valley of Jezreel; from Jerusalem to the maritime plains by the way of the pass of the Bethhorons. Altogether these roads formed a network, connecting the country as a whole and making it the highway of the nations.

20. **The General Character of Palestine.** It may be summarized in three terms—ruggedness, diversity, and central location. As one passes through the land, not by train or carriage, but on the back of a beast of burden, one becomes impressed with the fact that Palestine is essentially a hilly or mountainous country. While here and there is a stretch of level land, it is, on the whole, rugged; not the country that would develop a people loving ease, but requiring the qualities of energy and effort. Again, it is a land which contains within a narrow compass a most remarkable diversity of physical characteristics. Within a stretch of country no longer than from New York city to Albany you can find snow-capped mountains in the summertime and the tropics; rich meadows of wild flowers and the most desolate deserts; the ocean, springs, rivers, lakes, and extinct volcanoes, lava beds, and hot sulphur springs. And there it lay, the highway between the two most civilized countries of the ancient world. It would seem impossible to find any other country in the world better fitted to produce and train a people with a message to universal mankind; and it is no wonder that faith has recognized it as the promised land to a chosen nation of God.

21. **Israel's Neighbors.** On the east side of the Jordan there were three peoples with whom the Israelites felt themselves akin: Edom, in the extremest south; Moab, whose northern boundary was, generally speaking, the river Arnon; and Ammon, whose territory lay between the Arnon and the Jabbok. On the north their neighbors were the Arameans, with whom they also felt themselves related; and to whom, in fact, they traced their own origin. On the coast plains their neighbors were, on the north, the Phœnicians, who were Semites, and with whom they stood in friendly relations; on the south, the Philistines, whom they regarded as alien and "uncircumcised," and with whom they often came into conflict.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Draw your own map of the Biblical World, embodying in it the international position of Palestine and the highways of international travel.

2. Draw your own map of Palestine, incorporating its main physical features, the principal cities, and the neighbors of the Hebrews.

3. Read Deut 8. 7-9 and 11. 9-12 for the geographical contents.

PART I

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

FROM THE BEGINNINGS TO THE DEATH OF SOLOMON, 933 B.C.

CHAPTER III

THE FORMATION OF THE HEBREW TRIBES

1. The Origin of the Hebrew Race

22. The General Contents of Gen 1 to 11. The biblical historian writes the history of his people from a religious point of view, recognizing throughout the hand of God; and it is natural that he should trace the origin of his race back to the creative act of God, and make it part of universal history. He is thus led to tell of the creation of the world and man; of the origin of sin and the development of man's moral consciousness; of his primitive occupations and the beginnings of the arts of civilization; of a destructive flood and the new start of the human race; of the formation of families, tribes, and races; of the founding of cities, states, and nations, and of the rise of different languages. But all this he tells with particular reference to the origin of the Hebrew race, toward which he moves by gradually eliminating the more distantly related elements. The material for his account the author has drawn from various sources; but he has molded it with skill so as to focus it on his main subject and to bring out the religious, moral and social meaning.

23. The Two Accounts of the Creation. The account of creation is given in parallel forms: an earlier, prophetic (2. 4b to 3. 24), and a later, priestly (1. 1 to 2. 4a), each having its own style, order of events, and religious conceptions. The earlier account is characterized by its simplicity: God, whom this writer calls "Jehovah," is conceived as acting like man; he "forms" man, woman, and the

Gen 1 to 3

animals by the manipulation of his hands, as a potter might form a vessel out of clay; he takes a walk in the garden in the cool of the day; seeks man by calling after him, "Where art thou?"; and makes garments and puts them on our first parents. The writer shows his special interest in social and moral problems by indicating that man was designed for work, and must eat his bread in the sweat of his brow; that it is not good for man to be alone, but that he needs the divine institution of marriage; and that it is woman's lot to bear children. He depicts man's moral and spiritual nature by showing how sin brings hardships and sorrow, and interrupts man's familiar intercourse with God. The later account is more formal in style, but more elevated in thought. God, whom this writer calls Elohim—"God"—is over and above the world; and he speaks it into existence by the word of his mouth. This priestly writer views creation in the light of religious institutions. The luminaries have as a chief function to aid in the fixing of the festive seasons of the sacred calendar; and the observance of the Sabbath is enforced by God's own rest on the seventh day.

The value of these accounts does not lie in any scientific teaching concerning the order of the creation of the universe or the appearing of life upon the globe. The writers' ideas of nature simply reflect the views of the time. Their chief interest is in certain great religious truths, and though they differ in the details, in these great truths they agree. Back of the universe stands God as its personal creator. Man is a creature made in the image of God. The purpose of the creation is to be found in man's lordship over the world. Sin is not from God but is due to man's own responsible choice.

Gen 4. 1 to 6. 4 In the stories of Cain and the descendants to Noah we get glimpses of the roaming restlessness of nomadic life, of its attending insecurity, tribal marks, quarrels, and cry for revenge. The prehistoric ancestors are conceived as

marvels in length of life and size of stature, which is accounted for on the mythological ground that they were the offspring of inter-marriages of divine beings with human kind, "sons of God" and "daughters of men." This prehistoric condition becomes degenerate enough to demand the total destruction of mankind and a new start, which is brought about by the Flood and the rescue of Noah; after which history proceeds on more normal lines.

24. The Two Accounts of the Flood. The story of the Flood is also given in two versions, but they are interwoven in one. According to the earlier account, contained in Gen 6. 5-8; 7. 1-5, 7-10, 12, 16b, 17b, 22, 23; 8. 1b, 2b, 3a, 4, 6-12, 13b, 20-22, the Flood is caused by a forty days' rain; and two or three weeks after the rain had ceased the olive trees are already above the waters. According to the later and fuller account, contained in Gen 6. 9-22; 7. 6, 11, 13-16a, 17a, 18-21, 24; 8. 1a, 2a, 3b, 5, 13a, 14-19; 9. 1-17, the Flood lasts over a year, the waters come from subterranean as well as celestial sources, and cover even high mountains. In the prophetic account we meet again the simple or anthropomorphic idea of God: Jehovah repents and is sorry over what he has done; he puts the cover on the ark, and shuts Noah in; he smells the roasting of the sacrificial meat, and is appeased by it. The priestly writer also again reveals his interest in religious institutions: God's "covenant" with Noah, the ritual prohibition of the use of blood, and the legal status of murder. But both accounts assign sin as the cause of the Flood; both imply the total extinction of all life and declare that Noah only and those with him were saved through his righteousness. Gen 6. 5 to 9. 29

Creation and Flood stories were current among many nations of antiquity; those of nearest resemblance to the Hebrew are the Babylonian. In view of the older civilization of Babylonia, the latter must be considered as the source of the former. But both in literary form, even though the Babylonian epics are genuine poetry, and in

elevation of thought the Hebrew surpass the Babylonian. The Hebrew authors know how to purge their sources of the crass mythological and polytheistic elements and to present them in pure monotheistic form, surcharged with highest moral and religious truths. That the Flood story rests upon some historical foundation is probable. It is probably based upon the reminiscence of some memorable and devastating inundation of the Euphrates valley. To the biblical writer it has furnished serviceable material with which to close up the prehistoric period of human history so as to allow him a nearer starting point in tracing the origins of the races of the biblical world and of the Hebrew race in particular.

Gen 10 and 11

25. The Tables of the Nations. Chapters 10 and 11 furnish some genealogical matter which connects Noah with Abraham. In their present form the chapters are a combination of lists whose object it was to classify the known people of the world, and to show their relation to each other and to the Hebrews. The classification is on the basis of the three sons of Noah—Shem, Ham, and Japhet. The Japhites are the northern peoples, located in Asia Minor, Armenia, and along the shores of the Caspian and the Atlantic, representing the Indo-Germanic group. Among them are Gomer, the Cimmerians of the Greeks; Madai, the Medes; Javan, the Greeks; Elishah, most probably Cyprus; and Tarshish, Tartessus, the Phœnician colony of Spain. The Hamites represent the southern group, located in Africa and southern Arabia, including the Canaanites of Palestine as well as Cush or Ethiopia and Mizraim or Egypt. The Shemites, or Semites, are the eastern group, all lying east of Palestine; and including among them Assyria, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia, out of which came Abraham, the ancestor of the Hebrews. We have here no scientific classification of the human race, nor in the story of the tower of Babel a scientific account of the origin of the different languages. The classification is not on the

basis of race, color, or language, but of geographical location. This, together with the fact that the names are those of countries, like Egypt or Babylonia, makes it clear that the personal element of the relationship is not to be taken literally; that is, we are not to suppose that all the Egyptians, for instance, are the literal descendants of one ancestor by the name of Egypt, any more than one can assume that all Americans are the literal offspring of one man by the name of Amerigo. Peoples and nations do not originate in so simple a manner; and there is no reason for supposing that the biblical writer thought differently, or that the personal element in his genealogies was not simply to make the relation more objective. The horizon of the list is limited, and yet it is one of the oldest geographical and historical enumerations. But its chief value for biblical history lies in the expression it gives of the Hebrew consciousness of the unity of the race and of its relative position among the races of antiquity. Abraham, the father of the Hebrews, is but the offshoot of a branch of the tree of the races. When he appeared the human race was well advanced in age. Back of him stretches a vast historical past, and back of it in turn a vast prehistoric past. But the connecting link, the author would make us realize, was God; for the God of Abraham was the God of Noah and the God of Adam.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Secure a copy of the Revised Version of the Bible, preferably the American Standard Edition, with wide margin. Let this be your *study* Bible which you will feel free to mark in various ways to bring out the points in the lessons.

2. Read Gen 1 to 11 and note the progress from Adam to Abraham.

3. Read the two accounts of creation and mark in your Bible the differences in language and point of view, underscoring the words.

4. Mark in the margin of your Bible the earlier account of the Flood by a J and the later by a P, and read each account separately.

5. Summarize the main religious lessons suggested in these eleven chapters.

2. The Patriarchal Tribal Migrations

26. General Contents of Gen 12 to 50. The biblical material divides itself into (1) the history of Abraham, Gen 12. 1 to 25. 18; (2) the history of Jacob, 25. 19 to 36. 43; and (3) the story of Joseph and his brethren, 37 to 50; and it covers the period from Abraham's migration into Canaan to the settlement of Joseph's brethren in Egypt. Besides the priestly writer (P) and the prophetic (J), we meet now with a somewhat later prophetic writer (E), who uses the word "Elohim" for "God," and holds an intermediate conception of God between the anthropomorphic of the Jehovistic and the transcendental of the priestly writer, making angels and dreams the intermediaries in communications between God and man.

Gen 12. 1 to 25. 18

27. The History of Abraham. The history of Abraham in its main elements contains Abraham and Lot's migration from Haran to Canaan, the sojourn and building of altars at Shechem and Bethel, the migration to Egypt and the capture of Sarah, the separation of Lot to the cities of the Plain; Abraham's removal to Hebron, the promise of an heir and the covenant, the expulsion of Hagar, mother of Ishmael; the promise of Isaac, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and the rescue of Lot, the origin of Moabites and Ammonites, the birth of Isaac, Abraham at Beersheba, Eliezer's mission to Haran for Rebekah, and Abraham's marriage of Keturah, with the names of sixteen Arabian tribal descendants. The main source of information is the Jehovistic document. The Elohistic contains parallel accounts of the capture of Sarah, the expulsion of Hagar, and Abraham's covenant with Abimelech at Beersheba, while the offering of Isaac is found in this source alone. The Priestly writer has contributed mainly the chronological framework. According to this, Abraham

is seventy-five years old when he leaves Haran; ten years later he marries Hagar, and Ishmael is born when Abraham is eighty-six years old; at the age of ninety-nine he gets the promise of Isaac, which is the occasion of the institution of circumcision. Isaac is born when Abraham is one hundred years old; Sarah dies at the age of one hundred and twenty-eight and is buried in the cave of Machpelah at Hebron, acquired by the right of purchase as the patriarchal burial place, where Abraham also is buried at the age of one hundred and seventy-five. The combination of the chronological framework with the earlier stories, which had evidently separate origins, creates rather strange situations. When, according to J, Abraham's life is in danger among the Egyptians on account of the beauty of Sarah, or when, according to E, he is in the same danger among the Philistines, she is over sixty-five or over ninety-six years of age respectively. Abraham laughs at the idea of having children at the age of ninety-nine; but forty years later he marries again and has six sons by Keturah. The history of Isaac does not have a separate existence, but is found combined partly with that of Abraham, his father, and partly with that of Jacob, his son.

28. The History of Jacob-Israel. The history of Jacob-Israel is found in both of the prophetic sources in substantially the same form, with characteristic variations, and contains the birth of the twin brothers Esau and Jacob, Jacob's purchase of Esau's birthright, Isaac's blessing, Jacob's departure to Haran, the theophany at Bethel, the marriage at Haran with Leah, Rachel, Bilhah, and Zilpah; and the birth of their children; Jacob's prosperity, flight from Laban, covenant with Laban; the meeting with Esau and the wrestling of Jacob, peculiar to J; the rape of Dinah at Shechem, Jacob's return to Bethel; and Judah and Tamar (J). The contribution of the Priestly writer is rather meager. Aside from some chronological notes, he emphasizes as right Jacob's marriage with the Arameans, and

Gen 25. 19 to 36. 43

as wrong Esau's marriage with the Canaanites (28. 1-9); he furnishes a summary of the names of the twelve sons of Jacob by mothers: Leah—Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon; Rachel—Joseph, Benjamin; Bilhah—Dan, Naphtali; Zilpah—Gad, Asher, omitting Dinah and counting Benjamin as born in Mesopotamia (35. 22-26; compare verses 16-18).

Gen 37 to 50

29. The Story of Joseph and His Brethren. The story of Joseph and his brethren is similarly derived chiefly from the two prophetic documents, and found in its main features in parallel accounts with varying details, while each also contains elements of its own. Joseph sold into Egypt, JE; Joseph tempted, J; Joseph as the interpreter of dreams, E; Joseph as governor of Egypt, JE; Joseph's policy during the famine, J; his first meeting with his brothers, E; second meeting, J; the recognition, JE; the establishment of his kinsmen in Egypt, JEP; the blessing of Joseph's sons by Jacob-Israel, JEP (Gen 49. 2-27 belongs to a later time); the burial of Jacob-Israel at Hebron, JP; the latter days of Joseph, E.

30. The Literary and Historical Character of the Patriarchal Stories. The literary charm of the patriarchal stories has won universal admiration, and their religious value cannot be overstated. The patriarchal figures are the embodiment of the popular religious faith and virtue. Abraham is the friend of God, characterized by an unswerving faith in the unseen, an example of generosity and obedience. Isaac possesses more of the passive virtues; he is quiet and resigned. Jacob is the crafty; he knows how to drive the sharp bargain and to prosper in spite of difficulties. Joseph is the sagacious, pure, and noble. That they are faultless and safe examples in all particulars is nowhere stated; but that they as a whole are looked upon with approval is evident. The stories are in the form of personal histories. But in view of the fact that they deal with the earliest beginnings of a nation's history, with that

part that is usually little known, the question has been raised as to what extent we have here strict history. The answers that have been given to this question show that it is possible to err in either direction, namely, by over-emphasizing or by underrating the personal element. It is highly probable that the stories were originally transmitted from mouth to mouth and retold from generation to generation in public gatherings in the very places associated with their history, as Bethel, Shechem, Hebron, or Beersheba, seats of ancient sanctuaries. But such a transmission would naturally gather to the stories popular elements, and in the end they would come to reflect in many features the thought and life of later times. This accounts for the literary charm of the stories, for the double or even triple form in which they are often found, and also for their apparently disconnected and independent form. But while allowance must thus be made for their shaping and embellishment, there is reason for believing that there are elements in them that rest upon substantial facts of history.

The recent attempt to dissolve the patriarchs into astral or tribal gods has signally failed. Neither has the attempt proved successful to resolve the patriarchal figures into tribal heroes and to see in them not the experiences of individuals, but only the experiences of tribes. It is quite true, as has already been pointed out, that the biblical writers often relate national history in personal terms, and that in many instances the personal relations reflect tribal or national relations. But, on the other hand, the personal element in the patriarchal stories is too definite and pronounced to be accounted for entirely in this manner. On the pylons of the temple of Karnak is a list of over one hundred names of places which Thutmosis III conquered in an expedition against Syria about 1470 B. C. Among them are mentioned Jacob-el and Joseph-el; and it appears probable that there existed in Palestine in the middle of

the fifteenth century B. C. tribes which bore the name of Jacob and Joseph; but the name of Abraham has so far been discovered only as that of an individual. Tribal movements imply personal leadership; and the biblical tradition which ascribes to Abraham such leadership is perfectly reasonable. The fact that Abraham had a trusty servant like Eliezer and other retainers, which is implied also in the stories of the other patriarchs, would indicate that the biblical writers did not conceive that the patriarchal tribes were composed of only literal "sons" of the patriarchs. By assuming, then, that the patriarchs were historical persons and leaders of tribal movements in the broader sense, it is possible to meet all the reasonable requirements of the biblical tradition. To what extent we are to call the tradition legendary will depend upon the definition of legend. If legend is taken to be baseless fancy, the stories are not legend; but if it be taken that the essence of legend consists of a wonderful personality who has made a deep impression on human life so as to lead to idealization, then they are legends.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Mark in your Bible the account of Abraham, underscoring the names of the places, and make a brief outline of his movements.
2. Treat in like manner the account of Jacob-Israel.
3. Do the same with the account of Joseph and his brethren.
4. State and illustrate the virtues and faults of each of the patriarchs.

3. The Traditions of Genesis in the Light of Contemporaneous History

31. The Original Home and Migrations of the Semites. Recent archæological research in Bible lands yields considerable light upon the historical background of the Genesis traditions. The original home of the Semites, to whom the Hebrews belong, appears to have been Arabia, whence by successive migrations they occupied Babylonia, Syria, and

Palestine. These migrations were racial movements and explain the origin of the Hebrews. Our interest in these movements lies in the fact that they show the high state of civilization that lies back of the Hebrews' coming into Palestine.

The earliest of these migrations took place before 3000 B. C. and displaced a considerably advanced non-Semitic civilization both in Babylonia and Palestine. There are biblical references to these prehistoric inhabitants of Palestine (Deut 2. 20ff.; Gen 14. 5f.), and the excavations at Gezer by Macalister have thrown an interesting light upon that period. Egypt also came very early under the influence of the Semites. Egyptian monuments, dating back to 3400 B. C. and relating to the copper mines of the southern end of the Sinaitic Peninsula, contain figures with clear Semitic features.

During the Old Babylonian Supremacy, 3200-2500 B. C., several Babylonian expeditions were undertaken as far as the Mediterranean for building material.

32. The Amorite Migration. A second wave of Semitic migrations brought the Amorites into Syria and Palestine. Both Babylonia and Egypt were kept busy in checking these aggressive invaders. The Amorites held themselves strongly intrenched in Palestine until they were finally driven out or absorbed by the Hebrews. The Egyptian story of *Sinuhe,* belonging to the Middle Kingdom, 2000 B. C., reveals the closest commercial and diplomatic relations between Egypt and Palestine, and shows that the needs of the Amorite tribes were already those of highly civilized people.

33. The Elamite Ascendancy and Gen 14. The fourteenth chapter of Genesis gives an account of an Elamite invasion of Palestine in the time of Abraham. The Elamites were eastern neighbors of the Babylonians and for two centuries they succeeded in holding Babylonia under their sway.

Gen 14

The expedition is under the leadership of Chedorlaomer, king of Elam (v. 17), and it is undertaken to recover the Palestine dependency which had revolted. The battle takes place in the valley of Siddim, near the Dead Sea. The forces of five Palestinian kings are defeated and the conquerors carry away with them much booty. Abram, whose residence is given as the oaks of Mamre, near Hebron, and who is a confederate of the Amorites, comes to their help; and with his retainers defeats the invaders at Dan. He drives them as far as Damascus, and returns with much spoil.

Some features of this account have been remarkably verified as strictly historical. Two of the five invading kings can be identified. Amraphel is a faulty transcription of Hammurabi, Arioch, king of Ellasar, is probably Eri-aga, the equivalent of Arad-Sin, king of Larsa. The name of Chedorlaomer can be traced back to an Elamite source. The names of these kings, as well as of the countries, appear strictly historical. The situation also which makes these kings contemporaries and gives to the Elamite the supremacy is in accord with the known facts of Babylonian history. An Elamite invasion of Palestine and a temporary supremacy there are in harmony with the known policy of Babylonian rulers of the times; and the consequent revolt of the Amorite tribes bears also the stamp of historicity.

But there are difficulties in the way of making Abraham a contemporary of Hammurabi and the chieftain of Amorite troops. According to the biblical tradition, Abraham is the leader of an Aramean migratory movement; for the Israelite is taught to say: "An Aramean [Revised Version text "a Syrian"] ready to perish was my father" (Deut 26. 5; compare Gen 25. 20; 28. 5). And the Aramean migration did not take place until several centuries later. It appears, further, this Abraham incident is quite independent of other elements of the Abraham tradition. The Aramean

Abraham is a peaceful man, content to yield and pay his way as a stranger in a strange land; but the Amorite Abraham is a princely warrior, powerful and dignified. A fully satisfactory explanation of all the features of the account has not yet been given.

34. The Reign of Hammurabi. The Elamite supremacy came to an end and that of Babylon began through the energy and statesmanship of the great Hammurabi, who himself belonged to the Amorite race. The date of Hammurabi is probably about 1900 B. C. He was a great soldier and conqueror, one of the greatest builders and organizers of antiquity. He excelled also as a legislator, and his law code, recently discovered at Susa, containing two hundred and eighty-two laws, covers the widest range of ancient civilization, and anticipates by a thousand years much of the civil legislation of the Old Testament.[1]

35. The Hyksos-Canaanite Migration. About two centuries later another Semitic racial migration took place, resulting in the occupation of Palestine by the Canaanites and of Egypt by the Hyksos. These newcomers drove the Amorites northward to the mountains of central Syria, while they themselves occupied Palestine. This accounts for the representation in the Old Testament which makes the Amorite the lesser and the Canaanite the greater contingent of the original inhabitants of Palestine during the Israelite conquest.

The Hyksos, or "Shepherd Kings," were the fifteenth and sixteenth Dynasties of Egypt (cir. 1650-1580 B. C.), and governed the entire country of Egypt. Classical writers have strangely confused them with the patriarchal tribes who went down to Egypt. They were nomads, coming from the east; and their names betray a Semitic language. They adopted the culture of Egypt; oppressed the natives, who hated them as intruders, and called them the "pest."

[1] For the Code of Hammurabi, see Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, pp. 395–465.

About 1500 B. C. the Hyksos were driven from Egypt into northern Syria. They mingled with the other population of Palestine, producing the race called indiscriminately Amorites (Josh 24. 8, 18) and Canaanites (Gen 24. 3-7).

36. The Tell El-Amarna Period. The struggle against the Hyksos brought to Egypt a period of united effort and splendid achievement, resulting in Egyptian supremacy lasting for a century and a half. It is the period of Palestinian history sometimes called the Tell El-Amarna period, from the fact that at a place by that name in Egypt, one hundred and sixty miles south of Cairo, was discovered in 1887 a large number of clay tablets, which proved to be the reports or letters of Egyptian officials to the king of Egypt. The language is Babylonian, which shows it to have been the means of international communication. The letters come from Babylonia, Assyria, the land of the Hittites, Mitanni, Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine, showing the extent of Egypt's sway. One is tempted to go into the details of these letters, but space forbids. The kings addressed are Amenophis III and IV, which fixes the date of the correspondence as cir. 1400 B. C. The tone of the letters indicates that Egypt's hold is loosening, and there are numerous calls for help against invaders. Among the three hundred and sixty longer and shorter documents are six letters from Abdihiba of Jerusalem, assuring the king of Egypt of his loyalty and asking help against the unfriendly Habiri.

. . . So long as the king, my lord, lives, when an officer goes forth I shall say: the land of the king, my lord, is going to ruin. But you do not listen to me, all the princes are lost, and the king, my lord, will have no more princes. Let the king turn his face to the princes, and let the king, my lord, send troops. The king has no longer any territory. The Habiri have devastated all the king's territory. If there be troops in this year, the land will remain to the king, my lord's, but if no troops come, the lands of the king, my lord, are lost.[2]

[2] See Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, pp. 269ff.

This portion of the letter of the governor of Jerusalem illustrates the nature of the correspondence. It mentions particularly two foes that threaten Egypt's domain in Palestine, the Hatti and the Habiri.

37. **The Hittites.** That the Hatti are the Hittites of the Old Testament is generally held; but what their race or language was has not yet been determined, except negatively, that it was not Semitic. All the Biblical sources regard the Hittites as early inhabitants of Palestine (Exod 3. 8, 17; Num 13, 29). Their original home appears to have been Asia Minor, whence they spread into north Syria and eastward to the Euphrates. They were a highly civilized and powerful people; and from 1500-700 B. C. strongly influenced Syrian history. They have left numerous monuments and inscriptions, which still await a successful decipherer.

38. **The Habiri.** There appears nothing in the way etymologically of regarding the name "Habiri" as the equivalent of the Hebrews; but that they were the Hebrews of the Old Testament; that is, the Israelites, is altogether doubtful. The most that can be said is that they were, like them, Semites, or more particularly, Aramean invaders, probably an earlier wave of migration of the same race. This would accord with the fact that biblical sources give the name "Eber" to the great-grandson of Shem, from whom are traced, after six generations, the Arameans (Gen 10. 21; 11. 14-26; P; Gen 22. 21; J).

39. **The Aramean Migration.** Several generations, then, after the Habiri of the Tell El-Amarna period, another Aramean migration brought the historical Hebrews to Palestine. The name "Hebrew" means one "who has come across," namely, from the other side of the river (Euphrates); that is, Haran, either as an immigrant or trader (Josh 24. 2f; Gen 11. 31; 24. 4, 7, 10). A part of that migration, represented as under the leadership of Lot, the son of Haran, the brother of Abraham, whose older

name was Lotan (Gen 36. 20, 22, 29)—Egyptian, *Ruten,* or *Luten*—settled on the east side of the Jordan, producing, of course by amalgamation with the resident elements, the nations of Moab and Ammon. The main stock of the newcomers, probably of moderate numbers, represented under the leadership of Abraham, found their domicile in southern Palestine. The clans of Hagar, Keturah, and Sarah, named as wives of Abraham, developed into independent groups of people. Of Hagar came the Ishmaelites, "twelve princes according to their nations," whose home was "the wilderness of Paran," bordering on the west on Egypt, with whom they are considered related (Gen 21. 1-21; 25. 12-18). Of Keturah came the Midianites (Gen 25. 1-4), and other Arabian tribes, some of them inhabiting the central section of the Sinaitic peninsula, and others the desert lands on the east of Palestine. Of Sarah came Isaac, who is associated with places in the south of Palestine, Beersheba and the Negeb.

Gen 24

The beautiful story of Eliezer's wooing of Rebekah for his master's son Isaac, no doubt, expresses the historical reminiscence that the Isaac group received reenforcements from the original Aramean stock, while others apparently did not. Out of this newer element were formed the groups of Esau and Israel. Esau became the Edomites, situated in the mountains of Seir, on the east side of the Sinaitic peninsula, who, according to biblical tradition, amalgamated partially with Hittite elements of the native population (Gen 26. 34f.) and partially with Ishmaelite stock (28. 8f.).

Gen 29 to 33

40. **Jacob-Israel.** The Aramean relationship of Jacob-Israel is even more pronounced than that of Isaac. He is represented as personally returning to Mesopotamia, where he marries into the family of Laban the Aramean, and comes back to Canaan with wives and children and considerable property. We have evidently here to do with a somewhat later Aramean migration, consisting of clans bearing the names of Leah, Rachel, Zilpah, and Bilhah.

The sons of Jacob-Israel are grouped into twelve tribes, like the descendants of Nahor and Ishmael.

41. **The Patriarchal Tribal Mode of Life and Settlements.** It is commonly supposed that the patriarchs lived a nomadic life in Canaan, roaming through the length and breadth of it, pitching their tents or removing them frequently, but upon closer examination of the biblical data it is discovered that this is merely a superficial appearance. It is in large measure due to the compiler of the stories. These stories, which originally were independent, are now strung together and connected with scenes in different parts of Palestine. They thus produce the impression of constant movement, whereas, in fact, there are only three localities that are associated with them as domiciles, namely, Hebron and Beersheba, and the Negeb in the south; Shechem and Bethel in the center; and Penuel and Mahanaim by the River Jabbok in the east of Palestine. Neither was the mode of life nomadic, but seminomadic, which constitutes a definite intermediate stage between the settled life of the agriculturist and the roaming life of the nomad in that it contains elements of both, still to be found in eastern Palestine, and represented by the term "Ma-aze." The Bedouin is the nomad, who does not till the soil; the fellahin, the agriculturist; but the Ma-aze, living along the border of the desert and arable land, is the shepherd who tills the soil as he has opportunity, without settling permanently. The difference in these three modes of life is illustrated in the story of Cain and Abel (Gen 4. 1-16), which is evidently written from the point of view of the seminomad.

It is evident that the patriarchal life is conceived as seminomadic. The patriarchs are shepherds whose flocks consist of sheep and goats, which need daily watering: hence the numerous quarrels over wells; they have "houses" (Gen 27. 15), and apparently till the soil and reap lentils (25. 34). The only question that can be raised is whether

it correctly represents the tradition or is due to a later conception. But as such a mode of life is not improbable in itself, and there is no evidence to the contrary, there exists no reason for not taking it as embodying historical reminiscence.

Of the three localities associated with the patriarchs, Hebron and the Negeb are associated with Abraham and Isaac; and it would seem to indicate that it was there that the Hebrews succeeded in obtaining a temporary foothold. This region meets exactly with the political and geographical conditions for such a settlement; for it is the borderland of the desert, less sought after, and has ever been less capable of control. The other two localities are associated with Jacob-Israel. The double name "Jacob" and "Israel," together with the two localities in different parts of Palestine, would indicate two tribal movements, originally independent, but ultimately so fused as to leave the point of fusion indiscernible.

The residence of Jacob-Israel in east and central Palestine was probably only of short duration—through the eastern part a merely tardy passing through on the way from the Hauran. The residence around Shechem, as appears
Gen 34 from the episode of Gen 34, was probably longer. This chapter tells of a conflict between the tribes Simeon and Levi, "sons" of Leah, with the native Canaanites on account of their "sister" Dinah. We have here a reminiscence of patriarchal times, which is reflected also in Gen 49. 5-7. Accordingly, the residence of Jacob-Israel must have been cut short by the conflicts with the Canaanites of the region. These conflicts finally drove them into the more permanent
Gen 38 settlement in the south. A similarly early tradition is contained in Gen 38, which gives the origin of the chief clans of the tribe of Judah through intermarriages with Canaanites of Adullam, Timnah, and Chezib, lying among the foothills east of the Philistine plain. In this southern district of Palestine, Hebron and Beersheba, the early scenes of

Joseph's life are laid (Gen 37. 14, 22; 46. 5), and it is from here the movement proceeded toward Goshen.

42. The Descent into Egypt. The stories of Joseph narrate the descent into Egypt with most fascinating details, and are remarkably true to Egyptian manners and conditions. The cause of the migration to Egypt was a famine. It is not necessary to suppose that all of Jacob-Israel partook in the movement, and, as will appear later, there are reasons for holding that some of Israel remained in their settlement. On the other hand, Egyptian documents have made it clear that Bedouin movements to Goshen were not uncommon, and were sanctioned by the Egyptian government. In the time of Menerphtah (1225-1215 B. C.), an official in charge of the border defense reports to his superior: "We have permitted the Bedouin tribes of Edom to pass through the fortress of Menerphtah in Zeku to the marshes of Pithom in order to keep them and their herds alive in the possession of the king."

43. The Presuppositions of the Biblical Tradition. There are two religious presuppositions which underlie the patriarchal stories in their present form: first, that Canaan was the land of the Hebrews by divine promise before they took possession of it; and, secondly, that the migration of Abraham had its motive in religious faith.

The temporary foothold that the patriarchs had gained in Palestine, we may hold, was the promise of the full possession of it to their descendants; and it no doubt exerted no small influence in the subsequent history of the conquest. The memory that their fathers once lived in the land and held it in parts might well have awakened aspirations and hopes concerning it, and stirred their faith to make the effort to obtain it.

As to Abraham's religious motive, it is evident that both Babylonia and Egypt about his time saw new movements in religion. In the time of Hammurabi, Marduk, the city-god of Babylon, became the chief god of the Babylonian

pantheon. One of the effects of this change would be to degrade the god Sin, who had his worship in Ur and Haran, both associated in tradition with Abraham. These changes were deliberately undertaken to unify the state. In some instances the rival shrine was sacked, the images and votive offerings destroyed, and the cult prohibited by the authority of the king of Babylon. In Egypt Amenophis IV, known as the heretic king, deliberately and systematically set to work to establish a new religion over Egypt. He changed his own name in honor of his new faith, and built for himself a new capital on the site of the modern Tell El-Amarna, in order to give fuller expression to the new cult. That these changes in Babylon and Egypt were not made without protest and opposition is evident from the political revolutions that followed, for it is quite evident that not only kings but their subjects also felt deeply on religious matters.

In view of these facts, who can feel himself competent to deny the possibility of the religious motive which biblical tradition ascribes to the migration of Abraham? Here we have the picture of a man devoutly religious in his life, seeking for himself and his family a place where he may continue the pure worship of God. Such motive does not necessarily imply the exalted conceptions of the Deity that came into Israel's possession during the more advanced stages in the history of divine revelation, but it signifies the *beginning,* however simple and imperfect, of the faith as well as the people whose mission it was to bring religious truth to the world.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Consider the causes of tribal movements in general history and find instances other than biblical of the rise of nations from migrations.

2. Read the account of the movements of Abraham from the point of view of a tribal migration and consider (1) Was it an isolated movement? (2) What were its probable causes? and (3)

What other peoples besides the Hebrews trace their origin to Abraham?

3. Consider the historical significance of the stories of the relation of Jacob to Laban, and Jacob to Esau. Consult Bible Dictionary, articles "Laban," "Esau," "Tribes of Israel."

4. Consider the relation of southern Palestine to Egypt as reflected in the Joseph stories and note how the life of the patriarchal tribes and the policy of Egypt comport with biblical traditions.

5. Draw parallels between the migratory movements of the patriarchal tribes and the discovery and early settlements of the American continent and the providential purposes in each.

CHAPTER IV

THE AWAKENING OF THE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS—MOSES

1. The Emancipation

44. The Biblical Sources. The biblical tradition ascribes to Moses the laying of the foundations of the Hebrew nation and religion. While many details are uncertain, the essential parts have become remarkably confirmed, namely, the residence of the Hebrew tribes in Egypt, the personality and leadership of Moses, the exodus, with the crossing of the Red Sea, the covenant at Horeb-Sinai, and the political and religious organization at Kadesh.

The biblical material for the period, as contained in Exodus-Deuteronomy, consists mainly of two elements—historical matter in the form of narrative, and legislation in the form of bodies of laws. The latter have already been discussed in Section 6. The narrative element in Exodus-Numbers in its present form is as in Genesis a combination of the three main sources—J, E, and P; in Deuteronomy we now meet a source that stands by itself, having originated in the seventh century, and belonging thus between J, E, and P, designated by D.

Like the material in Genesis it is historical tradition which has passed through various processes of popular transformation. Many of the stories were at first units, as, for instance, the story of the circumcision of Moses (Exod 4. 24-26); some of them, dealing with common matter, were later combined into groups. In passing through the processes of their literary history many original details have

become indistinct or displaced, or, to avoid offense, transformed to meet the conditions of the later conceptions. But the primitive features of many details, which have no meaning in later time, stamp them as ancient, and in many cases they go back to the time of Moses. The recognition of this somewhat complicated character of the material, which will appear in further discussion, offers most interesting, plausible, and in many cases the most satisfactory explanation obtainable of the varying representations met with in the accounts.

45. The Egyptian Enslavement. Throughout the entire Hebrew literature constant reference is made to Israel's residence in Egypt, their enslavement and deliverance; and although the monuments have so far furnished no confirmation of these events, there can be no reasonable doubt of them, for it may be confidently asserted that no nation would invent such a story of disgraceful slavery regarding itself. But by Egypt we are to understand only Goshen, an eastern district bordering on the Arabian Desert, sharing its character, and belonging to Arabia as much as to Egypt. The land was specially suited for shepherds; and there the Hebrew tribes might continue their seminomadic mode of life, and feel but lightly the influence of Egyptian culture. Exod 1

It is in this region that Naville found in 1883 at Tell El-Maskhuta, in the valley Tumilat, remains of the storehouses of Pithom—Egyptian, *Petom,* "house of Etom"—and near it, on Tell Rotab, Petrie discovered the second city Raamses, named "the house of Ramses," in front of whose temple the king himself is represented in the act of slaying with his own hand a Syrian.

The number of Israelites in Egypt could not have been very large. The narrative states that two midwives were sufficient for taking care of their births, and we learn from Judges 5. 8 that a century later there were about forty thousand warriors in Israel. These statements are to be preferred to that of Exod 12. 37, which gives the number

of Israelites at the exodus as six hundred thousand men, implying a total of about a million and a half. Such a number is contradictory to all the probabilities of the geographical and historical background, and probably rests upon a characteristic exaggeration of a later source.

It is not necessary to suppose that all the tribes that later constituted national Israel resided in Egypt. That the Hebrews met kindred tribes in the Arabian desert and united with them is clear from the account of the Kenites (Num 10. 29-32; Judg 1. 16). In the inscription of Mernephtah, discovered in Egypt in 1896, Israel is mentioned in connection with the king's conquests in Canaan:

> Plundered is the Canaan, with every evil,
> Carried off is Askalon,
> Seized upon is Gezer,
> Yenoam is made a thing not existing,
> Israel is desolated, her seed is not,
> Palestine has become a (defenseless) widow for Egypt.[1]

This would clearly indicate that parts of Israel were already settled, probably in the southern sections of Palestine, before the exodus (compare Section 41). The prominence given to Joseph in Egypt also points to the Rachel tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh, as constituting the chief, though not necessarily the only, contingent; and thus it seems altogether probable that in the ultimate formation of the nation of Israel other elements were added to that of the residents of Egypt.

46. The Date of the Exodus. How long the Hebrews were in Egypt and what is the date of the exodus cannot be absolutely stated. It is now quite generally assumed that it was Rameses II (cir. 1290-1220 B. C.) who was the Pharaoh of the oppression; and Merneptah, his son (cir. 1220-1210), the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Rameses II was the most energetic ruler of the nineteenth Dynasty, a great conqueror and builder, covering Egypt with temples, the

[1] See Breasted, A History of Egypt, p. 470.

magnificent remains of which are still to be seen at Luxor and Karnak. He was just such a man as might have enforced labor for his building projects as the biblical builder of Pithom and Raamses, upon whose ruins bricks bearing his name have been found. During the reign of Merneptah attempts were made on the part of his Asiatic subjects to throw off the yoke of Egypt; and the latter part of his reign and the unsettled period following upon his death constituted political conditions of Egypt favorable to the flight of the Hebrews. The date of the Exodus may thus be set about 1200 B. C.

It appears, then, that, as the opening chapters of the book of Exodus indicate, we must picture to ourselves the Hebrew tribes, consisting of a limited number, subject to oppression, and given over to dissatisfaction and hopelessness, aggravated by a growing consciousness of the loss of their freedom. It was a crisis, calling for a leader with a vision, courage, and faith.

47. The Call of Moses. The historical character of Moses is not bound up with the details of his childhood and life. It is quite probable that later generations of Hebrews, conscious of what Moses had done for them as a nation, delighted to weave about him strange happenings, much as we do about Washington.[2] But we need to be on our guard not to allow ourselves to be robbed of valuable historical elements embedded in popular tradition. Exod 2 to 4. 6

The name of Moses is Egyptian, and its Hebrew meaning

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[2] A striking parallel to the story of Moses in the bulrushes is found in The Legend of Sargon, King of Agade. Compare Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, pp. 135ff.

"Sargon, the mighty king, the king of Agade, am I,
My mother was lowly, my father I knew not,
And the brother of my father dwells in the mountain.
My city is Azupiranu, which lies on the bank of the Euphrates.
My lowly mother conceived me, in secret she brought me forth,
She set me in a basket of rushes, with bitumen she closed my door;
She cast me into the river, which rose not over me.
The river bore me up, unto Akki, the irrigator, it carried me.
Akki, the irrigator, with . . . lifted me out,
Akki, the irrigator, as his own son . . . reared me,
Akki, the irrigator, as his gardener appointed me.
While I was a gardener the goddess Ishtar loved me,
And for . . . —four years I ruled the kingdom."

but a play upon the word. He appears to have shared the oppression of his people; and his contact with the culture and learning of Egypt did not make him forget his origin. Of vital importance was his residence in the Arabian desert with the Midianites, among whom he married and had children, and whose priest, Jethro (E Exod 3. 1) or Hobab (J Num 10. 29), was his father-in-law, and where, at Horeb-Sinai, he received the call to his mission. The call of Moses, given by the three sources with varying details, conveys three essential facts: (1) the Midianite environment as the source whence came the inspiration of Moses; (2) the new element in the religion of the Hebrews, represented by the new name of Jehovah; and (3) the personal element in the experience of Moses through whom the new religious truth was transmitted to his people.

The people whom Moses joins are called *Midianites,* whose descent is traced back to Abraham by Keturah (Gen 25. 2); but Moses's father-in-law is also called a Kenite (Judg 1. 16); and it would seem that the Kenites were a branch of the Midianites. Now, the Kenites sustain from the beginning to the very end of Israel's national history a very close and influential relation to the Israelites. Moses marries into their priest's family; the priest suggests to Moses methods of judicial procedure and administration (Exod 18); the Kenites join Israel, enter with them Canaan, and live among them (Num 10. 29-32; Judg 1. 16; 1 Sam 15. 6; 27. 10; 30. 29); Jael, the heroine in the song of Deborah, belonged to the Kenites (Judg 5. 24; 4. 17); the Rechabites, descendants of the Kenites (1 Chron 2. 55), stand by Jehu in his attempt to extirpate Baal worship from Israel (2 Kings 10. 15); and in the days of Jeremiah, these Kenites are held up by the prophet as illustrious examples of loyalty (Jer 35). It is to be observed that this close relation goes back to the time of Moses; and Moses when he unites with the Kenites is among relatives, children of Abraham.

It is while Moses is among these Kenites that he learns the *new name of God,* JEHOVAH. Such is the express statement of P: *"I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as God Almighty [El Shaddai]; but by my name Jehovah I was not known to them"* (Exod 6. 3); and with this agrees also E (Exod 3. 13-14); and both these sources have consistently refrained up to this point from using the name "Jehovah" when speaking of God. This fact has served as one of the criteria to distinguish the sources, but from now on fails. But J knows of no such difference; he has used the name "Jehovah" from the account of the creation onward, and says, for instance, *"Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-Jireh"* (Gen 22. 14). This obvious divergence has raised the question, Which of the sources has transmitted the correct tradition? Many scholars have taken it that it is E and P who are correct; that the God of the Kenites was known by the distinctive name of Jehovah, from whom Moses now had learned it, and that it constituted the new element that he brought with him on his return from the Arabian desert to Goshen. With this view, it is pointed out, would correspond the fact that in J, which had its origin in the south or in Judah, where the Kenites were at home, the name of Jehovah is familiar throughout. But, on the other hand, this view has to contend with the difficulty that it involves the rather strange situation of the Hebrew tribes rallying under the call of an entirely new God. But it is possible that the difference between the two traditions has been exaggerated; that there is a measure of truth in both, and a reconciliation possible. All the three sources agree that it is the God of the fathers who appeared to Moses; E also says that Jehovah is the God of the fathers (Exod 3. 15); and it is P alone, the latest of the sources, that says that the name was entirely unknown to the fathers. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that Jehovah was the name of the God of the fathers, perpetuated by some of the

branches of the Hebrew family of tribes, one among other names, like ELYON or SHADDAI, associated in the memory of the Goshen tribes with ancestral history; once used, but in the shifting of tribal movements partially forgotten, but now revived and filled with new meaning. What Moses had thus experienced among the Kenites was a revival of ancestral religion; in a measure new and yet not quite new; forgotten in the adverse and foreign Goshen environment, and now once more brought to the Hebrew tribes instinct with a new enthusiasm.

The commission of Moses is conveyed in the form of a theophany—that of the burning bush. The symbolisms suggest that it was in the precincts of a sanctuary, on holy ground, that the divine call came to him; while he was engaged in serving his priestly father-in-law at the "mountain of God," Horeb-Sinai, Jehovah impressed him with the mission of becoming the helper of his oppressed brethren. It was here in the Arabian Desert, in the neighborhood of an ancient Kenite sanctuary, among the free kindred of his people, under the influence of a priest of Jehovah, that the conviction took possession of him that Jehovah had called him to make the effort to free his brethren from Egyptian bondage and bring them to the place and people where he himself had realized the presence of God, even to Horeb-Sinai. It was in the way in which God still calls men to serve their fellow men. Man's need is God's opportunity. To aid an oppressed and discouraged people, he providentially prepares a leader by opening his eyes to see superior spiritual and social possibilities, and lets him taste them first for himself; and then he fires his heart to seek to extend these privileges to those who need them but have them not.

Exod 5. 1 to 6. 1; 6. 28 to 7. 7

The accounts of the execution of Moses's commission, his hesitancy, his encouragement by the promise of divine aid and the association of Aaron his brother with him, the unbelief of his people, the opposition of Pharaoh, and the

series of divine interpositions, all bear witness to and reflect the recognition of the magnitude of the task and God's gracious providence in Israel's deliverance from Egypt.

Our accounts narrate one sign and wonder and ten plagues, which were to convince Pharaoh and coerce him into the permission to allow his Hebrew subjects to go a three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to Jehovah their God. The ten plagues are: (1) blood; (2) frogs; (3) lice; (4) flies; (5) murrain; (6) boils; (7) hail; (8) locusts; (9) darkness; and (10) the death of the first-born. Each of the documents has its own enumeration; J has six, E four, and P five; but combined there are ten; it is likely, however, that 3 and 4, and 5 and 6 are duplicated, reducing the number to eight. Modern residents of Egypt have pointed out certain conditions which may have formed a natural basis for this series of plagues. It is impossible to determine with exactness the precise mode, but whatever the mode of occurrence may have been, it is plain that these visitations, coming in such an extraordinary series, would be to the Hebrews a clear sign of the interposition of Jehovah, while the proud Egyptians would be humbled by these events and driven to allow the Hebrew slaves to go out of Egypt.

48. The Passover and the Exodus. Associated with the exodus from Egypt is in our biblical sources the institution of the feast of the Passover. In its present form it contains ritual legislation concerning an ecclesiastical institution which has passed through various stages of development. The component elements of the fully developed Hebrew festival are still observable and consist of: 1. The slaying and eating of the Passover lamb. This is probably the earliest element, antedating even the time of Moses; for it is apparently to celebrate this feast that Moses asks the permission of Pharaoh. It originated probably in a pastoral custom in which the first-born of cattle was the victim of a sacrificial feast at springtime, and of

Exod 12. 1 to 13. 16

which the blood was used as a uniting and protecting feature. 2. The feast of Unleavened Bread (Mazzoth). The custom of eating unleavened bread suggests an agricultural origin of this feast, as of a harvest festival, like the feast of "weeks," or Pentecost, and the feast of "Ingathering," or Tabernacles, with both of which feasts the Passover is intimately connected in the legislation (Exod 23. 14-17), and to which the ceremony of the waving of "the sheaf of first fruits" (Lev 23. 9-12) points. 3. The feast of the deliverance from Egypt. This constitutes it a historical and national celebration like our Fourth of July or Independence Day. The various features are now here combined: the Passover lamb with the last plague of the slaying of the first-born, and the unleavened bread with the haste of leaving Egypt, while the whole is interpreted historically. In this manner ancient customs of varying origin were later combined and stamped with fresh and national meaning.

Exod 13. 17 to 15. 21

49. The Crossing of the Red Sea. The account of the crossing of the Red Sea offers one of the most instructive examples of the literary combination of the three sources, their respective character, and their value for determining the historical situation. The act of the crossing is described in Exod 14; and the chapter is given below resolved into its component parts in parallel columns.

P	J	E
1 And Jehovah spake unto Moses, saying, 2 Speak unto the children of Israel, that they turn back and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, before Baal-zephon: over against it shall ye encamp by the sea. 3 And Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, They are entangled in the land, the wilderness		

P

hath shut them in. 4 And I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and he shall follow after them; and I will get me honor upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host; and the Egyptians shall know that I am Jehovah. And they did so.

8 And Jehovah hardened the heart of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and he pursued after the children of Israel: for the children of Israel went out with a high hand. 9 And the Egyptians pursued after them, all the horses and chariots of Pharaoh, and his horsemen, and his army, and overtook them encamping by the sea, beside Pi-hahiroth, before Baal-zephon.

J

5 And it was told the king of Egypt that the people were fled: and the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was changed towards the people, and they said, What is this we have done, that we let Israel go from serving us? 6 And he made ready his chariot, and took his people with him: 7 and he took six hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over all of them.

10 And when Pharaoh drew nigh, the children of Israel lifted up their eyes, and, behold, the Egyptians were marching after them; and they were sore afraid:

11 And they said unto Moses, because there were no

E

and the children of Israel cried out unto Jehovah.

P J E

graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness? wherefore hast thou dealt thus with us, to bring us forth out of Egypt? 12 Is not this the word that we spake unto thee in Egypt, saying, Let us alone, that we may serve the Egyptians? For it were better for us to serve the Egyptians, than that we should die in the wilderness. 13 And Moses said unto the people, Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of Jehovah, which he will work for you to-day: for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day, ye shall see them again no more for ever. 14 Jehovah will fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace.

15 And Jehovah said unto Moses,

speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward.

and stretch out thy hand over the sea, and divide it: and the children of Israel shall go into the midst of the sea on dry ground. 17 And I, behold, I will harden the hearts of the Egyptians, and they shall go in after them; and I will get me honor upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen. 18 And the Egyptians shall know that I am Jehovah, when I have gotten me honor upon Pharaoh, upon his char-

Wherefore criest thou unto me?

16 And lift thou up thy rod,

P

iots, and upon his horsemen.

21 And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea;

And the waters were divided. 22 And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left. 23 And the Egyptians pursued, and went in after them into the midst of the sea, all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horsemen.

24 And it came to pass in the morning watch, that Jehovah looked forth upon the host of the Egyptians through the pillar of fire and of cloud, and discomfited the host of the Egyptians. 25 And he took off their chariot wheels, and they drove them heavily; so that the Egyptians said, Let us flee from the face of Is-

J

and the pillar of cloud removed from before them, and stood behind them: 20 and it came between the camp of Egypt and the camp of Israel; and there was the cloud and the darkness, yet gave it light by night: and the one came not near the other all the night.

And Jehovah caused the sea to go BACK by a strong east wind all the night, and made the sea dry land,

E

19 And the angel of God, who went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them:

P J E

rael; for Jehovah fighteth for them against the Egyptians.

26 And Jehovah said unto Moses, Stretch out thy hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots, and upon their horsemen. 27 And Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea,

and the sea returned to its strength when the morning appeared; and the Egyptians fled against it; and Jehovah overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea.

28 And the waters returned, and covered the chariots, and the horsemen, even all the host of Pharaoh that went in after them into the sea; and there remained not so much as one of them. 29 But the children of Israel walked upon dry land in the midst of the sea; and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left.

30 Thus Jehovah saved Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians; and Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the seashore. 31 And Israel saw the great work which Jehovah did upon the Egyptians, and the people feared Jehovah: and they believed in Jehovah, and in his servant Moses.

The above analysis makes it clear that J and P each have full and consistent accounts of the event of the crossing

of the sea; and that while the account of E is but very fragmentary, it contains features that are clearly distinct from those of the others and characteristic of that source. A comparison of the three accounts reveals three modes of dealing with the water of the sea: with J it is an east wind; with E the rod of Moses; and with P the outstretched hand of Moses. In the place of the "pillar of cloud" in J, we find "the angel of God" in E. The latter is characteristic of E, who elsewhere also introduces the intermediary appearances of angels; while characteristic of J are the anthropomorphisms, according to which Jehovah looks down from the cloud upon the Egyptians as an interested spectator and clogs (by a slight emendation of the text in the place of "took off") their chariot wheels.

But most striking is the difference in the whole aspect of the situation between J and P in regard to the underlying motive in the miracle. According to P, the whole Egyptian situation is brought to a climactic point by the direct agency of God, resulting in the entire destruction of Pharaoh and all his host, for the purpose of securing for himself honor upon Pharaoh. To this end Jehovah purposely hardens Pharaoh's heart; and, accordingly, Israel goes out of Egypt in defiant rebellion, "with a high hand." Jehovah thus drives the Egyptians to the pursuit of Israel, who are located most conveniently to produce a marked dramatic effect in the scene. When Israel reaches the sea the outstretched hand of Moses divides it, allowing them to cross on dry ground, while the waters form walls on either side of them. But when the Egyptians are in the midst of the sea Moses again stretches out his hand, and the watery walls collapse upon the Egyptians.

But, according to J, the Israelites flee out of Egypt and are in great terror of the Egyptians, and chide Moses for having brought them into this dangerous dilemma. But Jehovah brings about their rescue by letting an east wind blow all night, which drives back the waters of the sea,

allowing them to pass over. But the chariots of the pursuing Egyptians stick fast in the muddy bottom of the sea; with the change of the wind the waters return, a panic ensues, and the Egyptians are drowned.

Of course in the main features the accounts agree; and in both of them the crossing is miraculous. But in J it is what may be called a providential miracle, caused by a natural occurrence coming at a most critical time; while in P it is a direct act of Jehovah. Chapter 15 contains a poetic account of the same event, probably earlier than the prose accounts; and it is not unlikely that P's walls of water may be traced back to the poetic phraseology of verse 8:

And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were piled up,
The floods stood upright as a heap;
The deeps were congealed in the heart of the sea.

50. The Historical Situation. The nature of the sources suggests the difficulty of arriving at the exact historical circumstances. The sea that the Hebrews crossed it is generally supposed was the Gulf of Suez; but the exact place of the crossing can no longer be determined. It is claimed that at some early period the Mediterranean and the Red Sea were naturally connected as they now are artificially by the Suez Canal; and that at the time of the Hebrews' crossing the Gulf extended farther north, even as far as the Bitter Lakes. If we knew exactly the width and depth of the part of the Sea that the Hebrews crossed, it would make the task of the historian considerably easier.

Following our earliest source (J), we may suppose the event somewhat as follows: There were two ways leading out of Goshen to Palestine (Exod 13. 17f), one known as "the way of the land of the Philistines," leading in northeasterly direction along the coast to Gaza; and the other, known as "the way of the wilderness by the Red Sea,"

leading in southeasternly direction over Suez and Akabah. The second route was the less frequented, and more suitable for Israel's purpose. The Hebrew fugitives had evidently succeeded in passing the Egyptian eastern fortifications of "the Wall of the Princes," when their further progress was hindered by the sea. But during the night a strong wind drove back the shallow waters sufficiently to allow the Israelites to ford them. But when the Egyptians, having become aware of the flight of their subjects, attempted to follow them, they were defeated by the return of the waters of the sea.

The historical character of the deliverance is confirmed by the short and simple poetic utterance of Exod 15. 21 (compare 14. 26):

Leader: "Sing to Jehovah, for he exalted himself highly;
People: Horses and chariots he cast into the sea."

The verse bears an antique character, and originated contemporaneously in the recitative repetition, accompanied by dance, and continuing in Oriental fashion for hours, until enthusiasm ends in the exhaustion of leader and chorus. In contrast with it, the longer poem in 15. 1-18 belongs to a later time.

In some remarkable manner, and in a most critical period of their history, Jehovah had come to their aid; and it was to be remembered in all ages to come as the day in which Jehovah brought salvation to his people Israel. It is probable that as time elapsed the event grew into greater significance. For it was the beginning of Hebrew national history as much as the signing of the Declaration of Independence was the beginning of the American Republic. It may relatively have been but a small affair, but its potentialities that future history revealed mark it as an epoch in Hebrew history, the value of which cannot be overestimated; for it was nothing short of the birthday of the Hebrew nation—but it was only the birthday!

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Mark in your Bible the subject of this section with its subdivisions, according to the textbook.

2. Compare the Hebrew and American emancipations relating to (1) the oppression, (2) the leadership, and (3) the festal day celebrating it.

3. Compare the call of Moses with that of other prophets (Isa 6) and note the differences and underlying agreements.

4. Incorporate in your Bible the analysis of the account of the crossing of the Red Sea.

5. Make a brief outline of the historical events.

2. The Life in the Desert

Exod 15. 22 to 18

51. The Biblical Data. The materials for constructing a history of Israel's life in the wilderness are scanty and scattered. Most of the stories given us are from P, the priestly historian. Here we find elaborate accounts of the tabernacle (Exod 25 to 31; 35 to 40), laws as to priests and worship (entire book of Leviticus), and a highly artificial organization of the tribes, with an extensive list of encampments (Num 1 to 10. 29). We need simply to remember that this source is one of the very latest, and that it is the point of view of this writer to put back into the earliest days the institutions and customs of his own time. The lists of stopping places, even if based on early sources, are of little value, as they can no longer be identified.

52. The Provisions of the Desert. The vital question in the wilderness is whence to obtain water and food; and a number of the stories deal with this theme.

Exod 15. 22-26

At Mara the spring was brackish, but became sweet; at Elim they found a rich oasis; the springs of Massah and Meribah are to be identified with those of Kadesh (compare Exod 17. 1-7 and Num 20. 1-13).

Exod 16. 1-35; Num 11. 4-10, 13, 18-24a, 31-35

The *manna* and the *quails* provided bread and meat. The quail is a migratory bird, well known in the Sinaitic peninsula and all along the Mediterranean shores. Quails

migrate in vast flocks, fly low and mostly with the wind; their wings are too light for their bodies, and they become easily exhausted, and fall a ready prey to man. There are two products of the Arabian Desert of which one or the other may be what is described as the manna of the Bible. One is the exudation of the tamarisk tree, which is of the consistency of wax, melts in the sun, is white in color, and tastes like honey. The other is a lichen, which forms as a crust on stones, then rolls back and loosens, so that it is sometimes driven by the wind, sometimes washed by the rain into heaps; its size varies from a pea to a hazel nut; it is white in color, and, though dry and insipid in taste, is ground like corn, and baked into a sort of bread. Both these products meet with the requirements of the biblical manna.

It is an error, however, to think of the Israelites as constantly upon the march or as depending simply upon such sources of food. They had their flocks and herds (Exod 12. 32), which gave them milk and butter, and occasionally meat. For these they needed pasture and water. It is not probable, therefore, that the Hebrews could roam for any length of time far away from pasture lands; and it is altogether probable that, with the exception of some journeys of no great distance, they resided at least for a generation in the fertile region of Kadesh, following there a semiagricultural mode of life.

53. The Hebrew Residence at Kadesh. The character of Kadesh and Israel's residence there are characteristically overshadowed by the stories of the miraculous supply of provision; but for historical purposes they are of far greater importance. The biblical tradition, however, itself supplies us with hints of this importance. For it is evident that Exod 17. 1-7 and Num 20. 1-13 are but duplicate versions of an etymological story of the name of the place Meribah, found as Meribath (or Meriboth) Kadesh in Num 27. 14; Deut 32. 51; (33. 2, where "the ten thousands of

holy ones" is a mistranslation of an original Meribath-Kadesh); Ezek 48. 28; and some of the most important incidents of the wilderness period are associated with it.

Kadesh is now commonly identified with Ain Kades, fifty miles south of Beersheba. Near it are two other springs, a richer one, Ain El-Kederat, probably to be identified with the older Meribah, and a weaker one, Ain Kuseme, perhaps Mara, making the region about Kadesh the richest in water of the whole Sinaitic peninsula. The whole district is now in the hands of the warlike Azazime Bedouins, who seek to keep travelers in ignorance of it. It was first discovered by Rowlands, an English explorer, and revisited by an American traveler, Henry Clay Trumbull, who was the editor of the Sunday School Times, of Philadelphia, in 1881, who gives the following graphic description of it:

> It was a marvelous sight! Out of the barren and desolate stretch of the burning desert-waste we had come with magical suddenness into an oasis of verdure and beauty, unlooked for and hardly conceivable in such a region. A carpet of grass covered the ground. Fig trees, laden with fruit nearly ripe enough for eating, were along the shelter of the southern hillside. Shrubs and flowers showed themselves in variety and profusion. Running water gurgled under the waving grass. . . . A circular well, stoned up from the bottom with time-worn limestone blocks, was the first receptacle of the water. . . . A little distance westerly from this well, and down the slope, was a second well, stoned up much like the first, but of greater diameter. . . . A basin or pool of water larger than either of the wells, but not stoned up like them, was seemingly the principal watering place. It was a short distance southwesterly from the second well, and it looked as if it and the two wells might be supplied from the same subterranean source—the springs under the Rock. . . . Another and yet larger pool, lower down the slope, was supplied with water by a stream which rippled and cascaded along its narrow bed from the upper pool; and yet beyond this, westward, the water gurgled away under the grass, as we had met it when we came in, and finally lost itself in the parching wady from which this oasis opened. The water itself was remarkably pure and sweet; unequaled by any we had found after leaving the Nile" (Trumbull, Kadesh-Barnea, pp. 272ff.).

Judging from this description, it was a region well suited to serve Israel, if it did not number over five thousand persons, as a place where they might find, for a time at least, sustenance and a residence for the development of the intermediate stage between Egypt and Canaan.

54. War with Amalek at Rephidim. It is possible that it was for the possession of this desirable spot that the Israelites had to fight with the Amalekites, who appear as a people of the region between Kadesh and Beersheba, and specially unfriendly to Israel (confer Num 24. 20). Exod 17. 8-16 seems a combination of an etymological story, accounting for the name of Rephidim, meaning "support," and a cultic story, accounting for the existence of an altar and the sacred symbol of the wonder-working rod, both of which are combined in the name "Jehovah-nissi," meaning, "Jehovah is my banner-staff," and which was perpetuated in what appears as a war cry: Exod 17. 8-16

> "Hand at the banner-staff of Jehovah;
> Jehovah fights with Amalek from generation to generation."

55. The Judicial Organization. The biblical tradition furnishes in the form of a family story the origin of Israel's judicial organization prior to their entry into Canaan. The scene of the story is laid near the mount of God, that is, Horeb-Sinai, and consists of an account of a visit of Jethro, the Midianite, Moses's father-in-law. There are many details in the story which are obscure; but one important point is clear, namely, it expresses the consciousness of Israel's indebtedness to the Midianites regarding fundamentals in their political and religious organization; for though the story is considerably softened down to avoid offense, Jethro is yet the teacher of Moses. Exod 18. 1-27; Num 11. 11, 12, 14-17, 24b-30

We may still discern the double and yet distinct functions of Moses as priest and judge. It would seem that hitherto Moses himself had acted as the sole judge, which is an interesting indication of the relatively small number of the

Israelites; but now he receives assistants. Only the "hard causes," according to the story, are now brought to Moses, who brings them unto God, by which we must understand that they were decided by the use of the oracular lot, the Urim and Thummim. The manipulation of the sacred lot was a priest's function, and was carried on in connection with the sanctuary (see Section 65). The other cases were decided by appointed officials, chieftains who were laymen. In the account of Numbers these officials are described as being made fit for their function by being endowed with the Spirit of God. This indicates the existence of two distinct classes of public functionaries, namely, the priest and prophet. The priest was guided by the use of *material,* or ritual means, omens of various kinds, and particularly the sacred lot; the prophet was in more direct touch with God, and saw his will in dreams and visions, or, as in the case of Moses, had God speaking with him "face to face"; in other words, the means were *psychological,* or *spiritual.*

The subsequent religious history of Israel into New Testament times is pervaded by conflicts between the ideals of these two classes; and we may find traces of these conflicts already in the stories of early times. Of some such nature appears to be the conflict between Aaron and Miriam and Moses, although the exact point is not altogether clear. Of similar character is the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram against Moses, with which is interwoven an account of the rebellion of Korah against Moses and Aaron.

Num 12
Num 16

56. The Location of Horeb-Sinai. The destination of the tribes in starting from Egypt was evidently the "mountain of Jehovah," called Sinai by J and P (Exod 19. 11, 18, 20), and Horeb by E (Exod 3. 1; 18. 5). Three possible sites have been suggested: 1. In the southern end of the Sinaitic peninsula, where there are two peaks, eight thousand or nine thousand feet high, known as Jebel Musa and Jebel Serbal. But in this region were the

EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

Egyptian mines, protected by the government. Furthermore, this section of the country was barren, and for these reasons the site does not commend itself as probable. 2. One of the peaks of Mount Seir, east of the eastern prong of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Akabah. In favor of this site is quoted Judg 5. 4f., which connects Sinai with the mountains of Edom. 3. Mount Araif, one of the mountains in the desert southwest of Edom, near Kadesh. This site is supported by Deut 33. 2; Hab 3. 3a; and would accord also with the reference to the mountains of Edom in Judg 5. 4f. It would suit also best the expression "three days' journey in the wilderness" (Exod 8. 27), although it is in any case only general.

The last view commends itself also on account of the fact that many of the events of the wilderness residence taking place in Horeb-Sinai and Kadesh are so intermixed as to find the best explanation in the proximity of these two places. This nearness stands out clearly in the corrected text of Deut 33. 2:

> Jehovah came from Sinai,
> He rose from Seir unto them;
> He shined forth from mount Paran,
> And he came from Meribath-Kadesh.

In this passage Sinai, Seir, Paran, and Meribath-Kadesh are synonymous of Jehovah's residence, and present a strong argument for the third site.

The political and religious organization of the tribes of the desert period took place during their long residence at Kadesh, and much of what has occurred there has by a later tradition been transferred to Horeb-Sinai, which might be all the easier done if the two places were near each other. It would thus appear that the destination of the tribes in leaving Egypt was Horeb-Sinai and Kadesh, the region south of Palestine, where they might unite with friendly tribes like the Midianites and with those of their

own nearer kindred that had remained there from patriarchal times.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Examine the biblical data with view to ascertain whether the Hebrew life in the desert was nomadic or semi-nomadic, roaming or settled.

2. Trace on a map the possible routes from Egypt to Palestine, note the location and character of Kadesh, and examine the possible sites of Horeb-Sinai.

3. Endeavor to form a picture of the Hebrew community life in the desert, as to numbers, organization, and methods of subsistence.

3. The Religion of the Time of Moses

Exod 19; 20. 18-21

57. The Covenant at Horeb-Sinai. Horeb-Sinai was the seat of Jehovah; it was here that Moses had learned of him when he was among the Midianites; and it is to this mount that he brought the Israelites to enter into covenant relations to him. It is here that Jehovah became the God of Israel, and Israel the people of Jehovah. This essential fact is the basis of the remarkable dramatic representation in the biblical sources. From behind all the many figures of speech we may discern two things: that Jehovah had manifested his claim to Israel by what he had done for them by delivering them from the Egyptian bondage and pursuit; and that Israel's part involved the moral obligation to be true to him. All of this is summarized in the beautiful statement: *"Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be my own possession from among all peoples"* (Exod 19. 4f). But we shall fail to apprehend the significance of this historical movement if we interpret it so as to regard it as the result of only a single formal act within a brief space of time; it was through a process of training, gradual and lengthy, that the consciousness of this mutual relation

asserted itself; and Israel's residence at Horeb-Sinai was simply the first stage of this process.

58. The Hebrew Pre-Mosaic Religion. The biblical tradition clearly makes Moses Israel's discoverer of Jehovah and the medium by whom Jehovah becomes the God of Israel. What the religious conceptions of the tribes were prior to Moses is no longer clearly discernible, for the superior force of the Jehovah religion drove the other from the field. Arguing from analogy of the growth of religions in general and the primitive stages of other Semitic religions, it has been concluded that the religion of Jehovah was preceded among the Hebrews by the various stages of animism, fetichism, and ancestor worship; but these manifestations lie far back of the historical period. It appears more probable that what immediately preceded the religion of Moses was a polytheistic nature religion in which the divinity bore the designation of *El*. For a cuneiform tablet recently found at Boghazkoi, in Asia Minor, speaks of *ilani habiri,* "the gods of the Hebrews," and the Genesis stories contain numerous names compounded with El, as Beth-el, El-olam (21. 33); El-roi (16. 13); El-pachad (31. 42, 53); El-shaddai (49. 25; Num 24. 4, 16); and compare also El-eljon (Num 24. 16) and El-berith (Judg 9. 46). And not only was Israel's national name compounded with it, as Isra-el, but there is monumental evidence for original forms of Isaac-el, Jacob-el, and Joseph-el. There is evidence also that these *Elim* were already conceived as individual deities, dwelling at fountains, trees, on mountains, or in sanctuaries consisting of simple stone altars, rude stone pillars (mazzeboth), and approached with offerings of animal sacrifices.

59. The Enthronment of Jehovah. But when Jehovah became the God of Israel at Horeb-Sinai and Kadesh he suffered no other god beside him; and Israel learned the first lesson in what has not inaptly been called the intolerance of Jehovah, ultimately its highest contribution to

religious truth, as expressed in its fundamental confession: "Hear, O Israel, Jehovah our God, Jehovah is One" (Deut 6. 4). Moses had first himself come in touch with him at Horeb-Sinai among the Midianites. With the enthusiasm of a young convert he had inspired his discouraged and oppressed brethren to the venture of a flight to him; in a great crisis he had shown himself worthy of the confidence; and now in the precincts of his dwelling place, the mount of Jehovah, they bound themselves with others to acknowledge him as their only God. That this act of the acceptance of Jehovah was accompanied by the enthusiasm of a first religious experience, a genuine religious revival, we may well suppose; and we can appreciate the aptness of the prophets' figure of speech, which compares those "days of her youth" to the wooing of lovers (Hos 2, 14-16; Jer 2. 2).

But if we would correctly realize the content of Israel's conception of Jehovah in those early days, we must not neglect the perspective of history. These were days of earliest beginnings, first lessons. The time was yet far distant when it would be said, "God is a Spirit, and those that worship him must worship him in spirit and truth." It is possible that Jehovah was thought of in connection with a volcanic mountain, whose symbols were the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night, terrible to behold or to approach. The earth melts under his tread, and fire devours his adversaries. The storms with thunders and lightnings and earthquakes are his common manifestation. But he is also already the God who moves in history, and can come to the help of those who belong to him. He is a God who makes moral demands, and social law and order are under his sanction.

Exod 24; 31. 18; 34. 1–5a, 27, 28

60. **The Legislation at Horeb-Sinai.** It has already been pointed out (Section 6) that the biblical material for this period in its present form contains seven distinct codes of law. All these laws are referred by the later writers to Moses, and many of them to this occasion at Horeb-Sinai.

Archæological discoveries show that many of these laws existed long before this with the Babylonians and Egyptians. Others came with Israel's own experience, and the story of Jethro shows how Israel profited by such experience. In all this there is nothing inconsistent with Israel's own conviction that these rules were for her the voice of Jehovah, whatever the source through which they came. Nor is there sufficient ground for denying that the first great expression of these laws for Israel was by the inspired wisdom of Moses. It is no longer possible to determine exactly which parts go back to his time; but that Moses was a legislator is the uniform ancient tradition, and has become increasingly probable by the finds of the high state of civilization with which he was surrounded.

61. The Origin of Hebrew Law. The origin of Hebrew civil law may still be traced. As difficulties arose between parties, their disputes were settled by judges whose decisions became precedents. These were first transmitted orally, but later codified. Religious laws, arising from abuses, had a similar origin and history, for ancient history knows no distinction between secular and religious, and the law codes comprehend both.

It would appear that the community life of the tribes around Kadesh was most probably semiagricultural, which would also account for their gradual advances into Palestine, when Kadesh became too restricted for their growing numbers. It is the nature of the life at Kadesh that gives the clue to the content of the legislation of this period. A semiagricultural community cannot live long without civil, moral, as well as religious laws.

62. The Decalogue. It is altogether probable that the Decalogue in a primitive and simpler form belongs to the Mosaic period. Omitting the elements which differ in the two rescensions in Exodus and Deuteronomy, and what appear as other later accretions, the Decalogue consisted of brief words easy of oral transmission or written on stone:

Exod 20. 1–17
Deut 5. 6–21

1. I, Jehovah, am thy God; thou shalt have no other gods.
2. Thou shalt not make a divine image.
3. Thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah in vain.
4. Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.
5. Honor thy father and thy mother.
6. Thou shalt not kill.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness.
10. Thou shalt not covet.

The first commandment inculcates the intolerance of Jehovah, which is a characteristic of the Hebrew religion; and its early appearance becomes all the more comprehensible if the covenant with Jehovah involved the discarding of the former gods. The second commandment brings out another characteristic of Jehovah religion, its imageless character, and accords with the simplicity of desert life. The third commandment appears directed against the misuse of Jehovah's name in the common magic rites. The Sabbath day has an ancient origin and history, and its early appearance in Hebrew life is quite probable. The other commandments comport with the requirements of even the simplest community life. But it is possible that the seventh commandment has its origin in the cultic orgies, accompanied by sexual license, associated with the religion of Israel's neighbors, with which Israel had come in contact in earliest history, as is witnessed by the stories of the golden calf and Baal-Peor. It would seem that some of the prohibitions of the social code (Deut 27. 15-26) have a similar purpose.

Exod 32. 1–35; Num 25. 1–18; 31. 1–12

63. The Ritual Code and the Book of the Covenant. There are elements in the ritual code and the Book of the Covenant (Section 6) whose origin in Mosaic times is generally assumed; but to much the objection has been raised that it presupposes an agricultural and settled background. It is true that the latter code reflects a considerably advanced state of society; but when the semiagricultural mode

of life at Kadesh is recognized more of that code will find a suitable origin in Mosaic times.

64. The Ark of Jehovah. Among the sacred objects of the religious cult of Mosaic times the chief place was occupied by the Ark of Jehovah. Its original signification most probably was the throne of Jehovah. The cover of the ark, which was simply a wooden box, consisted of two winged creatures, cherubim, plainly carved; and judging from the expression "Jehovah of hosts, who is enthroned on the Cherubim" (1 Sam 4. 4), Jehovah was considered as seated on the cherubim. When Israel was on the march or in war, the ark led the way; on starting, a refrain formed the signal: Exod 25. 10–22

> "Arise, Jehovah, that thy enemies flee,
> And those who hate thee scatter,"

and on the return to the camp, "Be seated, Jehovah, by the tribes of Israel." Num 10. 35f.

65. The Tent of Meeting. When in camp the ark resided in a sacred tent, known as the "tent of meeting," which P has described as a most gorgeous sanctuary (Exod 25ff.), highly idealized. It was probably at this time only a simple tent, distinguished from others by its central position (Num 2. 17); and thither the people went to "inquire of Jehovah," that is, to consult the divine oracle. It is most probable that this oracle consisted of two sacred stones, *Urim* and *Thummim,* which were used as lots, representing yea and nay, and which were manipulated by means of a linen garment or pocket, called *Ephod.* It has been suggested that associated with the oracle were the *Teraphim,* connected with the "veil" of Moses, which the latter wore when representing Jehovah, and being originally a covering or mask by which the functionary at the oracle represented the divinity. It is possible that behind the stories of the wonder-working rod of Moses and Aaron and the related staff or standard on which the serpent was Exod 33. 7–11; Num 7. 89; 9. 15–23 Exod 34. 29–35 Num 17. 1–11; 21. 4–9

raised, we are to find that they were originally sacred objects of worship, for we have good testimony to the fact that the latter was an object of worship as late as the time of king Hezekiah (2 Kings 18. 4), the Hebrews calling it Nehushtan, and burning incense to it.

66. Rites and Festivals. Among sacred rites instituted at this time the chief place belongs to circumcision, for it is evident from Exod 4. 24-26; Josh 5. 5ff., that neither Moses nor the Israelites were circumcised before this time. The chief festivals were the Sabbath and the Passover. The latter had the signification of a pastoral spring festival, with the sacrifice of the first-born of the flock; whether it already possessed the character of the feast of Unleavened Bread (Mazzoth), or harvest festival of grain, will depend upon how much of an agricultural activity we recognize for this period. The stories of the golden calf and Baal-Peor imply that Israel came early under the influence of the Baal cults; and Kadesh and the Negeb produced fruits as well as grain; and it is not impossible that the three harvest festivals in an early form belong to this time.

67. The Priests and Levites. With the institution of the new Jehovah religion came that of the priesthood, who should perform the functions connected with the sacrifices, the ark, and the oracle. It would seem that Moses himself acted as the chief priest, and that Joshua was his servant. The Aaron of the earlier tradition appears in roles of antagonism to Moses; and it is the later tradition that makes him the high priest, and surrounds him with a highly organized hierarchy. The priestly functionaries were the *Levites,* and their main function, not to sacrifice, but to manipulate the oracle; hence they are distinctively designated as those who wear or bear the Ephod (1 Sam 2. 28; 14. 3, 18).

Exod 33. 7–11; Exod 32; Num 12

68. The Character and Achievement of Moses. It would have been strange indeed if the character of Moses should not have been idealized; but making the fullest

allowance for such grateful tribute of later generations to their illustrious national founder, there can be no doubt of the manysidedness of his character. He appears as leader, organizer, legislator, judge, priest, and prophet. It would seem as if the last term comprises all his functions; at any rate, it predominates in them all. To have accomplished what he did, he must have possessed a tireless industry and energy, enthusiasm, wisdom and tact, faith and love. Later generations have added to all these the authorship of the Pentateuch. For reasons that the content of the Pentateuch itself furnishes, namely, that it is composed of various sources which extend through seven centuries of Hebrew history, Moses can no longer be regarded as its sole author. But if Moses did not write history, he made history, which is by far the greater accomplishment. His achievements may be briefly summarized as follows: He awakened in an oppressed and discouraged people the feeling of national consciousness; he cemented them into a band having common hopes and aspirations; and he united them by the common bond of Jehovah their God, to whom they bound themselves in moral obligations.

Moses thus was the founder of both Israel's national and religious life; and became more than the Washington of Israel.

69. The Meaning of Moses for Subsequent History. The manner in which the prophets Amos and Hosea refer to the law of Jehovah, which Israel has forgotten, indicates that there was in existence at that time, not indeed the present Pentateuch, but a clearly defined body of truth which they could appeal to as authoritative. These prophets never appear as innovators, but as reformers; and Hosea, for instance, in making his appeals, quotes in one verse one half of the Decalogue (Hos 4. 2). No period of Hebrew history between Moses and these prophets can lay stronger claim to have given the ideals these prophets appeal to than that of Moses; and it appears thus as funda-

mental to subsequent history. Our examination of the period has shown it to have been one of primitive conditions; but they were conditions of a state of society, crude indeed in many respects, but simple and as yet unspoiled by decadent civilization; and for this reason not unsuited to produce certain principles of permanent value and importance to society.

1. The political ideal of Mosaic times is that of a *theocracy,* which is a combination of the best elements of democracy and monarchy. The ruler is "called of God," that is, not hereditarily, but providentially raised by his fitness to meet the exigencies of his time, and amenable to popular approval. The administration of law is under religious sanction, and under men upon whom rests the spirit of God, designed to produce social justice. The body politic is free and independent, without class distinctions; and alert to assert its rights: it is the desert type of government, free and easy as desert life, but, of course, sharing also its limitations.

2. The social ideal was that of the *simple life,* imposed by the unsettled mode of living in desert regions; its hardships and dangers left it free from luxury and effeminacy, drunkenness and debauch.

3. The religious conception of Mosaic times may be termed an *ethical henotheism,* that is, the recognition of only *one* God for Israel, or *monolatry,* the worship of only one God. This is the intermediate stage of development between polytheism and monotheism. All the religious sentiments and cultic acts are concentrated on Jehovah. There is only one sanctuary, and the cult is centralized. Only a comparison with the religions of surrounding peoples can make clear how notable this faith is. There is no image of Jehovah; no sacred prostitution, which Baal worship had; there is an absence of the rank spiritism, animism, and magic, so prominent in the cults which later influence the Israelites; and in religious leadership the prophetic

element, or the moral and spiritual, dominates over the priestly or ritual.

In these characteristics of the political, social, and religious ideas of the times of Moses can be recognized many of the ideals of the prophets of whom Moses was thus incipiently a forerunner; and which still justify the order "Moses and the prophets."

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Be sure to read first the biblical passages indicated in the margin at the sections and look up the references given in the text.
2. Obtain a clear conception of the meaning of a covenant. Read article "Covenant" in Dictionary of the Bible and confer Gen 15. 1-21 and Jer 34. 18f.
3. Consider the Hebrew covenant at Horeb-Sinai, noting the two contracting parties and the nature of the mutual obligations.
4. Mark in your Bible the Ritual Code, the Social Code, and the Book of the Covenant, according to section 6, and underscore the main word in each enactment.
5. Consider the origin of Hebrew law as compared with that of other nations.
6. State in your own words the demands of the Decalogue.
7. Consider what were the functions of the Hebrew religious service.
8. Compare the character and achievements of Moses with those of George Washington or those of Abraham Lincoln.
9. Consider the permanent values of the moral and religious ideals of the time of Moses.

CHAPTER V

THE CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT OF PALESTINE

1. The Biblical Sources

70. The Contents of the Book of Joshua. In their present form the books of Joshua and Judges are the continuation of the history of the Hebrew people from the death of Moses to their settlement in Canaan. The contents of the book of Joshua may be summarized by chapters as follows: Joshua assumes the leadership as the successor of Moses; and makes preparations to cross the Jordan (1); spies are sent to Jericho (2); the Jordan is crossed (3); and a memorial of a heap of stones is set up at Gilgal (4); the miraculous approach of the Israelites terrifies the Canaanites; the Israelites celebrate their entrance into Canaan by the rite of circumcision and the keeping of the passover; and are assured of God's presence (5); Jericho is miraculously captured, and utterly destroyed, except Rahab (6); Achan's sin of taking instead of destroying the spoil of Jericho causes a temporary defeat of the Israelites (7); Ai is conquered; and the law read upon Ebal and Gerizim (8); the Canaanites prepare to stop the conquerors; but the Gibeonites exceptionally choose the wiser course to enter into friendly relations with them by a ruse (9); five kings in the south form a confederacy to oppose Joshua and the Israelites, but are totally defeated and destroyed (10); a northern coalition of kings, led by Jabin, king of Hazor, leads to a battle by the waters of Merom, and to a

similar defeat and destruction; and the entire land is conquered (11); and a list of conquered kings and territory concludes the story of the conquest (12).

Joshua now distributes the conquered land to the tribes (13 to 21); the East-Jordan tribes return to their inheritance, and conform to the law of one sanctuary (22); Joshua bids Israel farewell and renews their covenant with Jehovah; and dies at the age of one hundred and ten years (23, 24).

71. The Contents of the Book of Judges. The book of Judges consists of three elements: (1) 1 to 2. 5, which apparently continues the history of the conquest after the death of Joshua; (2) 2. 6 to 16. 31, the history of the judges;[1] and (3) an appendix, containing the story of the Ephraimite Micah and the founding of the Danite sanctuary at Laish by the sources of the Jordan (17, 18); and the rape of a Levite's concubine by the Benjamites (19 to 21).

The story of the book of Ruth is laid "in the days when the judges judged," which accounts for its place after the book of Judges in the Christian Bibles. The Moabite heroine of the story becomes the Israelite ancestress of King David. The nature of the story is such as to fit any of the periods of Hebrew history; and it suggests social rather than historical conditions; and its only distinctive historical element is the genealogy of David with which the book closes (see Sections 7 and 239).

72. The Character of the Biblical Sources. If we could take these biblical accounts as purely historical, the construction of the history would be comparatively simple. But upon examination it appears that we have here also a

[1] The history of the Judges consists: (1) of an introduction, 2. 6 to 3. 6, in which the oppression of the Israelites by their foes is declared to be a divine punishment for their Baalism, and their deliverance a divine act of grace on repentance; and (2), within a framework, illustrating the same view of history, the heroic acts of the twelve Judges: *Othniel*, the hero in a Mesopotamian (or Edomite) oppression (3. 7–11); *Ehud*, the left-handed slayer of the Moabite tyrant (3. 12-30); *Shamgar*, who slays six hundred Philistines (3. 31); *Barak* and *Deborah*, victors over Sisera, captain of the host of Jabin the Canaanite king of Hazor (4, 5); *Gideon* or *Jerubbaal*, freeing Israel from the raids of the Midianites and Amalekites (6 to 8); *Abimelech*, the tribal king of Shechem (9); *Tola* (10. 1, 2); *Jair* (10. 3-5); *Jephthah*, the deliverer from the Ammonites (10. 6 to 12. 7); *Ibzan* (12. 8-10); *Elon* (12. 11, 12); *Abdon* (12. 13-15); and *Samson*, worrying the Philistines with his herculean feats (13 to 16).

combination of the four main sources of the Hexateuch, with all their characteristics.

73. The Two Views of the Conquest. The most elaborate account of the conquest and settlement of Palestine is that found in Joshua. The story is familiar. Israel crosses the Jordan under Joshua. Jericho and Ai are conquered. The confederacy of the kings of the south is defeated, and then that of the kings of the north. The whole land, thus conquered, is divided among the tribes, those of the East-Jordan returning to their inheritance. Four points are clear in this picture: 1. The conquest was national; Israel acts as a whole under Joshua. 2. It was accomplished at one time, within a single generation. 3. It was mainly by warfare. 4. It was complete, the whole land being won.

A careful study of the book of Judges reveals quite a different situation, and this is supported by other references. Judg 1 to 2. 5 tells the story of the work of conquest after Joshua's death. Jerusalem was not captured until the time of David (Judg 19. 12; confer 2 Sam 5. 6-9). The Canaanites were not driven out of Gezer until the time of Solomon (Judg 1. 29; confer 1 Kings 9. 16). Beth-shan remained Philistine until the time of David (Judg 1. 27; confer 1 Sam 31. 10). Taanach and Megiddo were still Canaanites in the time of Deborah (Judg 5. 19; 1. 27), and Shechem until the time of Abimelech (Judg 9. 28). Moreover, we find constant warnings given to the Israelites against association with the Canaanites, which clearly shows that the latter were living peacefully among the Israelites at a later time. (Judg 3. 1-6; 1 Kings 9. 20f.; Deut 7. 1-5, 22).

There is little question as to which of these views is correct. That of Judges is much the older, coming from J, and at the same time has every historical probability on its side. We cannot conceive how Joshua, if he conquered the whole land, north and south, should have left it unoccupied so that the work had all to be done over again after his death, nor where the Canaanites should have come from again so

quickly if they had all been annihilated. Here again we must distinguish between the original historical facts and the use made of them by later teachers and preachers for religious purposes. The account of Joshua is from the later hand of D. It is a great lesson in the form of history warning Israel against contamination with pagan neighbors. Living centuries after the conquest, this writer saw what the baneful effects of Canaanitish influence had been upon Israel's social, moral, and religious life. He is convinced of two great ideas. First, if Israel had absolutely exterminated the Canaanites ("devoted" them to Jehovah, Josh 6. 21), the people and the land would have been saved from contamination. Second, if they had thus shown their loyalty and zeal, then Jehovah would have fought for them; they would have simply needed to stand still and see the salvation of Jehovah who would have made all walls fall before them. The writer, therefore, for the purpose of his teaching, idealizes the history, emphasizing some aspects, disregarding others, and picturing events more according to his idea of how they must, or should, have been. At the same time he puts into a few years the conquest that really required generations. The noble religious faith and purpose of the writer and his zeal for pure religion are evident, though his idea of the mission of religion seems cruel and narrow as compared with ours. For us religion is to transform as a missionary power; for him the only safety lay in killing off its enemies. This is the law of Herem, observance of which is to bring success (Josh 1. 7ff.), and failure in which is to bring disaster (Josh 6. 18, 21; 7. 1, 10-12).

74. **The Framework of the History of the Judges.** In the book of Judges it is necessary to distinguish clearly between the older stories about the Judges and the introduction and framework, which are much later. These last are from the school of D, the same source as the book of Joshua. The introduction, 2. 6 to 3. 6, gives a summary of the whole period: After the death of Joshua and his generation the

Israelites forsook Jehovah and worshiped the gods of Canaan; as a punishment Jehovah allowed them to be oppressed by their enemies; but when they repented and cried to him for help, he sent them deliverers. Corresponding to this philosophy of history, each of the stories of the more prominent Judges is opened and closed in a similar formal way as this: The Israelites again did that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah; he delivered them into the hand of such and such an oppressor; when they cried unto him he raised up so and so as a deliverer; upon which follows the story of the deliverance, closed with the statement: And the land had rest so and so many years (Judg 3. 7-11, 12-15, 30; 4. 1-3; 5. 31; 6. 1-7; 8. 28; 10. 6-10). By these means the Deuteronomist enforces the lessons of the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries, who saw in the downfall of Israel and Judah the visitation and vindication of Jehovah's righteousness. The stories of the Judges themselves, however, are entirely independent of the framework within which they are now placed, and are of far earlier material.

75. The Elements of P and J and E. In Josh 1 to 12, the element that P contributes is not extensive: a version of the crossing of the Jordan and the account of the observance of the Passover that followed come from this source. But in chapters 13 to 24, the allotment of the tribal territories and the assignment of cities in these territories to the Levites and priests, and the designation of the asylum cities are chiefly from P.

The remainder probably belongs to J and E, the oldest, and for historical use the most serviceable material. Some of the stories of the Judges, as of Samson, for instance, are popular tales that have become embellished in transmission. On the other hand, the Song of Deborah, Judg 5, is a nearly contemporaneous record of the history of the struggle of the Israelites with the Canaanites for the possession of the land, and is a historical source of the first rank.

76. The Sources for the Conquest of South and East Palestine. As bearing on the history of the conquest, there should be here added also the account of the attempt to invade Palestine from the south, Num 13f., and especially the two detached brief but ancient fragments, Num 14. 44f., and 21. 1-3. The account of the sending out of the spies is a combination of JE and P; and in its present form aims to account for the fact that Israel did not immediately proceed to capture Canaan, but remained for a generation in the desert.

The material for the conquest of the East-Jordan province is in the form of a narrative of a journey from Kadesh by the way of the southern boundaries of Edom to the Jordan, including the accounts of the death of Aaron and Moses (Num 20 to Deut 3. 34). It includes: Num 20. 14-21; Deut 2. 1-8a, through the land of Edom; Num 21. 10-20; Deut 2. 8b-23, by the wilderness of Moab; Num 21. 21-32; Deut 2. 24-37, the victory over Sihon king of the Amorites; Num 21. 33-35; Deut 3. 1-7, the victory over Og, king of Bashan; and Num 32; Deut 3. 12-22, the settlement of the tribes Gad and Reuben, which mainly concern us, as furnishing historical data. The brief accounts of JE may be taken as embodying historical reminiscences; the material that D furnishes betrays the later point of view, as in the book of Joshua; while P, in the substance of Num 33-35, deals with the period from the later priestly point of view.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Incorporate in your Bible the main divisions of the book of Joshua.

2. Do the same with the book of Judges. Distinguish the "framework" from the stories of the Judges and underscore the names of the Judges.

3. Note particularly that the earlier and later sources are distinguished by the view they take of how the conquest was accomplished.

4. Estimate the moral and religious value of the later account.

2. The Invasion of Palestine

77. The Task of the Invaders. Using the material that comes to us from Judges and other sources, we get the following outline picture of the conquest: It was (1) tribal, one or two tribes together gain their territory; (2) gradual, extending over a period of many generations; (3) mainly peaceful, accomplished often by treaties, intermarriages, and amalgamation; and (4) incomplete, until after many generations had passed away. This view accords better with the task the invaders had to accomplish. The inhabitants of Palestine very likely lacked the spirit of union, and had become weakened by vice; yet they were civilized, trained in warfare, and had fortified cities. The Hebrews were more than mere nomads; and driven from their desert home by the increase of their numbers, possessed the courage of adventurers. But in open warfare they were at a disadvantage; and to this bear witness the statements that they "could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron." At times unquestionably they must have made their entrance by force; but more frequently by quiet occupation, by treaties, or intermarriages, living then side by side with the natives. Having in time gained in numbers and strength, "they put the Canaanites to task work"; and having finally learned by experience to make war more successfully, they became masters of the land. Following the earlier material, we may consider the occupation of Palestine as having transpired in three stages: the Southern, the Eastern, and the Western.

78. The Southern Occupation. The data for the occupation of the south in their present context in Judges and Joshua imply that it took place from the east. Judah and Simeon, joined by Caleb and the Kenites, we are told (Judg 1. 1-21), attack the army of ten thousand men of Adonibezek; rout it, overtake and mutilate the king, and capture his capital, Jerusalem. The tribes then move southward, capture Hebron, which falls to Caleb; continuing south-

ward, they take Zephath, formerly called Hormah. They even invade the Philistine district, and take the cities Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron. The last statement cannot be meant for this period; and it is generally considered an insertion of a late redactor. The capture of Jerusalem in v. 8 is contradicted by v. 21; and we know that it was David who first captured it. The whole section looks as if it were a general summary of events that have taken place, but not in the chronological and geographical order here given. On the other hand, if the fragments Num 14. 39b-45 and 21. 1-3 are taken together, and independently of the context in which they are found, they tell first of an unsuccessful attempt to invade southern Palestine from Kadesh; but later of a victory of Israel over the Canaanites of the south as far as Hormah. A comparison of Num 21. 1-3 with Judg 1. 16f. shows clearly that they are duplicates; for both lie within the same district and involve the capture of Hormah, the main difference being that what in Numbers is ascribed to Israel as a whole is in Judges ascribed to Simeon, Judah, and the Kenites.

There is much to be said in favor of such an invasion from the south by these tribes. Zephath or Hormah is only about forty miles from Kadesh. Zephath is commonly identified with Sebaita, twenty-two miles north-northeast from Ain Kades; but it is better to identify it with the mountain ridge Es-Safa, about forty miles northeast of Kadesh. The occupation was under the conditions then existing likely to be far more effective from the south than from the north, and more natural and less arduous than from the east. An eastern invasion implies warfare, for which the Israelites were not as yet prepared; a southern implies a gradual encroaching upon adjoining territory by a people pressed for room. The story of the spies (Num 13) and Caleb's part in it also favor the approach from the south. Caleb believed that the south of Canaan could be possessed from Kadesh; he obtains his inheritance in the south; and at

Hebron he conquers the three sons of Anak that he had spied out on his expedition.

It would seem, then, not unreasonable to suppose that after a considerable residence at Kadesh, some of the Hebrew tribes, and apparently the Leah tribes, Judah and Simeon, together with their confederates Caleb and the Kenites, pushed their way northward, and gained gradually firmer foothold in southern Palestine. The separation from the rest of the tribes at this time is more likely than at any later time; and it explains the cleavage that existed between the southern and northern tribes in the subsequent periods.

Num 20. 14–21; 21. 10–35; Deut 2 to 3. 7

79. The Occupation of Eastern Palestine. The account of the occupation of eastern Palestine we have mainly from the point of view of the later nationalism. At the end of their stay in the desert, and still under the leadership of Moses, the tribes as a whole break up at Kadesh to proceed to take possession of the promised land. They ask permission to pass through Edom, but are refused, and, out of deference to their rights, pass through by the way of the Gulf of Akaba. They are not to molest Moab and Ammon; for it is the country of the children of Lot. But when they reach the territory of the eastern Amorites, they capture Jazer, overcome Sihon, the king of Heshbon, and Og, the king of Bashan, capture their cities, although they were *"fortified with high walls, gates, and bars,"* "utterly destroying every inhabited city, with the women and the little ones" (Deut 3. 5f.). Moab and Midian are terrified at Israel's success, and send for the aid of Baalam, a soothsayer, to cast a spell upon the victors; but Baalam recognizes the hand of Jehovah in the movement; and instead of cursing them blesses them. The conquered country is now given to Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh.

Num 22. 2–24

Num 32; Deut 3. 12–22

This kind of a conquest, however, has to be qualified by the confession of weakness already referred to; and there exists a remnant of an older account which confirms the suspicion that the occupation was less sweeping, stating that

many Canaanites were not conquered. We may suppose, therefore, that the settlement in eastern Palestine was a second stage in the attempt of the tribes to find larger quarters in the rich pasture lands of this region. Josh 13. 13

80. The Occupation of Western Palestine. We have already considered the two conceptions of the conquest of western Palestine (Section 73). According to the one, national Israel, with its right to the land by divine promise, crosses over Jordan dry-shod; the walls of Jericho fall; and Jehovah drives its enemies before it as the hornet. But the other view is conscious of limitations and of difficulties to be encountered by a people of courage inspired by faith. Josh 3. 2 to 5. 1
As there are various versions of the crossing of the Red Sea, so there are of the crossing of the Jordan; and here also a providential deliverance has been recognized by a later faith. Josh 3. 16 suggests a landslide, not uncommon along the clayey and overhanging banks of the Jordan. But the Jordan is fordable at various points near Jericho (Judg 3. 28; 7. 24; 12. 5). Of the capture of Jericho also are various accounts, suggesting a providential circumstance. The sending out of the spies, the friendliness of Rahab, and the understanding with her, indicate a well laid plan of capture. The capture of Ai illustrates Israel's sagacity in outwitting its enemies. Josh 2; 5. 13–15; 6 Josh 8

Of the utmost importance for the understanding of the process of Israel's occupation of the land is the treaty with the Gibeonites. It involved four of the most important cities of central Palestine, holding a strategic position between the south and the north. The independence of these cities is ascribed to a ruse, which aims to palliate such a religious blunder, as it appeared to a later time, which sees no other reason for their existence than Israel's sufferance. Josh 9. 3–27

The account of the conquest of southern Palestine in Joshua runs parallel with that of Judah, already considered (Section 78). It represents a later summary of events ending with the capture of Jerusalem by David. Josh 9. 1, 2; 10, 13. 2–4a; 15. 13–19, 63; Judg 1. 1–21

Judg 1. 22–36

Central and northern Palestine were at first secured in a very partial manner by the various tribes. The house of Joseph, consisting of Ephraim (to whom belonged Joshua) and Manasseh, succeeded with the aid of a guide in finding entrance into Bethel. But the record of the success of the other tribes is very meager, and tells more what they did not than what they did. It contains a list of about seventeen cities, occupying the heart of the land, whose Canaanite inhabitants "would dwell in that land." Concerning the tribe of Dan we are told that the Amorites forced them into the hill country (v. 34). What is then in the book of Joshua ascribed to united Israel under the leadership of Joshua was really accomplished by the various tribes under the leadership of the Judges, as told in the book of Judges, and extending over a considerable period of time. This does not necessarily mean that Joshua's leadership lacks historical basis; but that in characteristic nationalistic fashion the later historian has foreshortened the events of history and ascribed to one generation the task of several. But the book of Judges brings us into scenes that resemble the earlier days of colonial history. The native population, still outnumbering the invaders, have just begun to realize their danger, and at various points seek to ward off their fate. Israel, it is evident, is by no means always victor. Again and again it is vanquished, enslaved and oppressed; but at the crucial moment one of their heroes arises and brings them relief.

The primary function of these "Judges," as gathered from their actions, was military leadership; and it was only the prestige gained by their military successes that brought them secondary functions as arbiters, as their titles suggest, in disputes. As already stated, we have the history of twelve of these "Judges"; and it appears that their number, as well as the chronological scheme, which is part of the deuteronomistic framework, is used to give systematic disposition of the material. In correspondence with the view of the Old

Testament that forty years are equivalent to a generation, the numbers of most frequent occurrence are twenty, forty, and eighty (3. 11, 30; 4. 3; 5. 31; 8. 28; 13. 1; 15. 20; 16. 31). The key to this chronological scheme is found in 1 Kings 6. 1, which reckons four hundred and eighty years, or twelve generations, from the Exodus to the building of Solomon's Temple. But it is practically impossible to make the present figures in Judges and Samuel add up this sum and it would seem that the symmetry of scheme has suffered in transmission. But while it may thus be impossible to give the exact dates and number, or sequence, of these Hebrew champions, the general character of their achievements may still be ascertained.

Judg 4f.; Josh 11. 1–20

81. The War of Deliverance. A great crisis in the history of the conquest is narrated in Judg 4 and 5, in the victory of Barak and Deborah over Sisera and the united Canaanites. A duplicate version of this victory is contained in Josh 11. 1-20: in both cases the Canaanites unite under Jabin, king of Hazor, and the battle is fought in the north of Palestine, but in the account in Joshua is a characteristic anticipation under national auspices of what took place at a later time. The account in Judges appears in double form —a prose account, ch. 4, and a poetic, ch. 5, in the so-called Song of Deborah. They vary in some minor details and mutually supplement each other. The poetic account proves itself naturally the earlier, and is, in fact, one of the earliest contemporaneous documents of incalculable historical value, and from the literary point of view one of the finest gems of Hebrew poetry. It conveys to us information of the straitened conditions of the Israelites; on account of the Canaanite enemy insecurity and danger prevailed.

"The highways were unoccupied" (v. 6), "and the travellers walked through by [or crooked] ways." The small army of the Israelites was insufficiently armed; for

> *Was there shield or a spear seen*
> *Among the forty thousand in Israel? (v. 8.)*

Like the Indians in Colonial history, the Canaanites would make a final and determinate effort to annihilate the hated intruders; and the conditions in Israel appeared favorable to effort; for not only were they harassed and ill-equipped, but, worst, they were disunited and lacked a common patriotism. Only six of the tribes—Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir, Zebulun, Issachar, and Naphtali—are mentioned as helping the common cause. Judah and Simeon, representing the south, are conspicuous by their absence; Reuben felt he ought to come, but yielded to the temptation of ease and remained

Among the sheepfolds,
To hear the pipings for the flocks (v. 15f.);

and Gilead also stayed away, and Dan preferred to "remain in ships"; "Asher sat still at the shore of the sea"; and the singer becomes indignant at the lack of true spirit and cries out:

"Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of Jehovah,
Curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof,
Because they came not to the help of Jehovah,
To the help of Jehovah against the mighty" (v. 23).

But in spite of all the difficulties, Deborah and Barak succeeded in mustering enough to meet the foe. The battle was fought in the valley of Kishon, a swampy region, disadvantageous to cavalry. A providential rainstorm seems to have come to aid the Israelites:

From heaven fought the stars,
From their courses they fought against Sisera (v. 20);

the battlefield became flooded and disaster overtook the Canaanite:

The river Kishon swept them away,
That ancient river, the river Kishon (v. 21).

Captain Sisera, who flees to the tent of Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite, falls the victim of foul assassination:

and Israel passes victoriously the crisis of extermination by the Canaanites. Judging from the pæan of victory, a new and exultant spirit fills those who have come "to the help of Jehovah against the mighty."

But while this victory settled for Israel the Canaanite problem in Central and Northern Palestine, it brought them by no means a permanent rest, for as the exploits of the other champions would indicate, danger still threatened them at various other points. Seven of the twelve "Judges" appear only of minor importance. The story of Othniel (3. 7-11) belongs to D; and an Aramæan domination at this time presents an historical difficulty. If it were possible to see in "Aram" (v. 10) a corruption of "Edom," the story would then point to an invasion from the east upon the south, and make good sense. The story of Ehud (3. 15-29) points to an uprising of Moab as a result of Israel's eastern occupation, resulting in the capture and recapture of Jericho. The story of Shamgar suggests exploits of Samson; and the other minor judges are merely named. Of more historical importance are Gideon and Abimelech; Jephthah and Samson.

Judg 3. 7–11

Judg 3. 15–29

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Consider the causes leading to the Hebrew invasion of Palestine, particularly in view of the difficulty of the task. Read Num 13. 25-33 and note the two different attitudes.
2. Study with the aid of a map the approaches to Palestine from the south and the east.
3. Be sure to examine carefully the biblical passages dealing with the various invasions and note the part each tribe took.
4. Compare the Hebrew settlement with the Colonial period of American history, noting the character of the invaders and the means of conquest.
5. Consider the political and religious effects of the war of deliverance.

3. The Tribal Heroes

82. Gideon. The history of Gideon's exploit against the Midianites is given in two variant versions. The older

Judg 6 to 8

and more strictly historical version is contained in 8. 4-10a. 11; 7. 16a.c.; 17a; 18b.; 19a.c.; 20. 21b.; 8. 12-21, and seems only a fragment of a fuller story. According to it, the Midianites, Bedouins of the desert, under their leaders Zebah and Zalmunna, had made a raid on their surefooted camels into western Palestine, and near Mount Tabor had slain two of Gideon's brothers (vv. 18, 19). Gideon, driven by the duty of blood-revenge, gathers to him three hundred of the clan of Abiezer and goes in pursuit of the invaders. Crossing the Jordan, he asks aid of the elders of Succoth and Penuel, and when refused, promises vengeance on his return, a promise which he keeps. He overtakes the Midianites, and by a well-laid plan causes a panic at night in the host of the enemy, which is routed, and their chieftain is captured. Gideon, having made sure that they had slain his brothers, now calls upon his young first-born son to fulfill the duty of blood-revenge and slay the chieftains: and when the youth's courage fails, Gideon himself slays them.

In the other version the didactic and nationalistic elements appear strikingly prominent. Gideon receives his call through an angelic visitor. His mission is to be national, and he acts also like Elijah as a religious reformer in breaking down the altars of Baal. The warfare is between a mighty invading host of Midianites, Amalekites, and other children of the east, *"Like locusts for multitude; and their camels were without number, as the sand which is upon the seashore for multitude"* (7. 12), and the united forces of the tribes of Manasseh, Asher, Zebulun, Naphtali, and Ephraim. Twice Gideon is divinely assured of success; and in order to make it clear that the victory is due to Jehovah alone, his army of forty-two thousand is first reduced to ten thousand and again to three hundred by the sign of those who drink without getting on their knees like those who have bowed their knees to Baal. It is thus the number is brought to harmonize with Gideon's three hundred of the clan of Abiezer. The victory is achieved also by causing a panic,

but the means is the blowing of the trumpets, instead of the empty jars with torches and the battle cry, "For Jehovah and Gideon"; and the two chieftains, here named Oreb and Zeeb, are slain, and on this side of the Jordan.

The sequence of Gideon's victory has come down to us also in double form. According to the earlier account, Gideon requests the golden earrings of his captives as his spoil; and of the gold he makes an ephod, and sets it up in his city Ophrah. The implication is that he becomes the local ruler. But, according to later account, "the men of Israel" offer Gideon the kingship, which he in the interest of the theocracy refuses with the words: "I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you: the Lord shall rule over you."

83. Abimelech. How nearly the rule of Gideon approached a tribal kingdom is seen illustrated in the kingdom of his son Abimelech which was its natural sequence. Abimelech was Gideon's son by a Canaanite woman of Shechem; and upon the death of his father, aided by his maternal relatives and hired mercenaries, he murdered seventy of his half-brothers "on one stone"—all except Jotham—and was made king of Shechem. The story of his reign, which has all the marks of antiquity, is one of rivalry, dissension, and bloodshed. Jotham's parable tells his view of his brother's character and origin with stinging sarcasm, and forecasts his evil end. In three years the Shechemites have broken away from him in open rebellion, but are forced back into submission; and he himself dies ingloriously at the siege of Thebez by the hand of a woman. Thus comes to an end the first real attempt at kingship in Israel; it was a step in a new direction, indicating development; but accomplishing little of permanent value. There was not as yet sufficient amalgamation of the Canaanite and Israelite elements for harmony; and the Deuteronomistic editor with insight ascribes the failure to Canaanite religious influence. Judg 9f.

84. Jephthah. The deeds of Jephthah are surrounded Judg 11f

by the same atmosphere, but the scene shifts from the west to the east of the Jordan, to Gilead. Jephthah, like Abimelech, was most probably the offspring of the union of an Israelite with a Canaanite woman; and though energetic and brave, was not allowed to live in peace with his half-brothers, but was driven from home, to live the life of an outlaw. But when their country was in distress his ability was remembered; he was recalled and asked to aid them. He promises to do so on condition that he rule over them, which he ultimately did in Mizpeh of Gilead, probably the modern es-Salt. The Ammonites, and apparently the Moabites (see Judg 11. 17, 18, 24), had become restive under the aggressiveness of the Israelites, and taking advantage of their dissensions, had made an effort to regain their loss. Jephthah goes into the battle with the vow that if Jehovah will give him victory, he will sacrifice to him whatsoever comes from the doors of his house to meet him. The victory is won; his daughter comes forth to meet him, and Jephthah "did with her according to the vow which he had vowed"—words which yield no other explanation than that he took her life upon the altar. And when the Ephraimites seek a quarrel with him he gathers again his Gileadite forces and defeats them and seizes the fords of the Jordan; and when the fugitives attempt to cross, recognizing them by the failure to pronounce the "sh" in *"shibboleth,"* which becomes on their tongues *"sibboleth,"* he causes them to be put to death. Jephthah is to all appearance a tribal king in Mizpeh of Gilead, as Abimelech had been in Shechem; but he had gained it not by heredity, but by conquest.

Judg 13 to 16

85. Samson. With the stories of Samson we are transferred to the southwestern regions of Palestine, the territory bordering on the Philistines. Samson, who was a Danite, is celebrated for two things, namely, his fondness for Philistine women and his gigantic strength, both of which brought him into trouble. His exploits possess all the fascination of popular heroism; and the stories about

him must have delighted, as they still delight, those fond of a good story. The stories hang but loosely together and most probably had different origins before they were collected into their present setting. The source of his strength is ascribed to the fact that he was a Nazirite from his birth, consecrated to Jehovah and filled with his spirit; but it is also ascribed to his unshaven hair. His relations with Philistine women are regarded as a providential occasion to harass the Philistines. Little or nothing of historic value accrued from the exploits of his misused strength; and aside from the light the stories throw upon the free intercourse of the Israelites with the Philistines, they furnish no data for the events of history of the period. What Samson really accomplished was to stir up the anger of the Philistines, which shows itself in the subsequent period, and to which the stories seem to be the transition.

86. The Settlement of the Danites. In most striking contrast in historic importance is the migration of the Danites and the founding of the northern sanctuary at Dan by the sources of the Jordan (confer Josh 19. 40-48). The tribe at first occupied the hill country in the southwest of Ephraim (Judg 1. 34) where it was hard pressed by the Canaanites. It would seem that at some considerably later time they determine to seek larger quarters, and six hundred of their armed men capture ancient Laish, at the foot of Mount Hermon and call the new settlement Dan. On their way northward they forcibly appropriate the priest and the sacred paraphernalia of the private sanctuary of the Ephraimite Micah; by means of which they found the sanctuary at Dan. Judg 17, 18

87. The Final Settlement of the Tribes. It would seem, then, that about the end of the period of the "Judges," and during a period of two centuries, Israel had succeeded in establishing itself firmly upon its land, in so amalgamating with and gaining control over the native Canaanite population as to be really masters in their territory.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Separate in your Bible the earlier and later accounts of Gideon. Read each account separately and note the points of emphasis in each.
2. Consider the history of Abimelech from the point of view of Jotham's fable.
3. Consider the force of the vow in Hebrew life (see article "Vows" in Dictionary of the Bible) and the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter.
4. Trace the movements of the Danites on a map and consider the origin of the sanctuary at Dan.
5. Draw a map indicating the location of the Hebrew tribes at this time.
6. Consider the character of the Judge from the point of view of (1) his function, (2) his locality, and (3) his assumption of royalty.

4. Social, Moral, and Religious Conditions During the Period of Occupation

88. The Social Life. The settlement in Palestine affected the life of the Israelites radically. While hitherto not ignorant of field labor, they became now agriculturists with settled abodes, houses, lands, vineyards, and olive yards. Plowing, in simple fashion, sowing and reaping, threshing and winnowing, gathering in grains and fruits into storehouses became the general activity of the people, and were added to that of raising cattle. The Israelites learned from the Canaanites the culture of the fig and sycamore, the making and use of the wine and olive press, the making and repairing of simple agricultural implements, and the making of simple pottery. The houses of the poorer classes were one-roomed clay huts, shared by cattle, with low doors and small openings for windows; they had no chimneys, the smoke finding its way out of these openings. The better houses were built of sun-dried brick with flat roofs. The furniture consisted of low tables with the floor or chairs for seats; the room was lighted or heated with oil wicks in lamps of clay; fallen leaves or the bare ground

served as beds, the sleeper lying wrapped up in his outer garment; the utensils for eating and drinking were of wood or clay, but later of metal. The chief food was bread; the flour was ground in a hand mill, consisting of a lower concave and an upper convex round stone with an opening on the top, and turning on a wooden peg. The kneading and leavening were done in a wooden bowl, and the baking in earthen ovens, heated with dried dung or brush, and either by laying the dough on heated stones or by slapping it against the heated sides of the oven. Other foods were garden vegetables, fruits and honey, and the produce of the herds and flocks—meat and milk.

The clothing consisted of a lower garment of linen without sleeves and reaching to the knees, and for those who could afford it of an upper garment of woolen cloth or leather; sandals were worn, and a heavy, turbanlike covering for the head as a protection from the sun. Both men and women wore earrings as amulets, and ornaments.

At first village life predominated; then the cities built by Canaanites were shared with the native population, until they also became Israelite. The cities were walled and had gates fastened with brass or bronze. Open spaces around the gates were used for trading, administration of justice, and general intercourse. The streets were narrow and crooked, dark, dirty, and unpaved, and the refuse was thrown upon the streets to the dogs.

The family occupied among the Israelites a most important and influential position, for the tribes were nothing more than the aggregation of families. The family was the preserver and cultivator of religion, morals, and law. In historical times it was patriarchal; but there are indications that the matriarchate existed at one time, namely, the ease with which half-brother and sister may marry, if not related on the mother's side (Gen 20. 12; 2 Sam 13. 13), the naming of the children by the mother (Gen 30. 6, 8, 11, 13), and the man's marrying into the family of his wife (Gen 2. 24).

With the matriarchate went a higher position of woman, which changed with the prevalence of the patriarchate. Marriage was a contract involving the purchase of the bride, and the dowry which was the purchase price was paid to the father. Jacob, for instance, serves seven years each for Leah and Rachel. The story of the Benjamites stealing their wives from the maidens of Shiloh (Judg 21. 19f.) illustrates the earlier custom of marriage by capture. Both methods tended to give to woman a dependent position. The desire to preserve the solidarity of the clan limited marriage to the nearest relatives, and there are early instances of marriage with the wife of a deceased father, with sisters, of marriage of nephew and aunt, of uncle and niece, and of half-brother and sister. The notion of the purity of Hebrew blood is unhistorical; for there is abundant evidence that they intermarried with Canaanites, Moabites, Ammonites, Philistines, and other peoples, and that the blood of national Israel was very much mixed.

Polygamy was a legal institution, but practiced only by the rich who could afford the purchase and maintenance of a number of wives, or by rulers and princes who sought by their marriages with other princely houses to strengthen their own. Bigamy was more common, and due to childlessness, old age, need of additional household help, or desire for larger family. But the jealousies and rivalries of plural marriages must have acted somewhat as a social deterrent, and it is significant that the Hebrew term for a second wife was *Zarah,* or "enemy" (confer 1 Sam 1. 6).

The marital law was decidedly laxer for man than for woman, and the law against adultery, as the meaning of the word indicates, was in the interest of the integrity of a man's children. But it is not to be supposed that these conditions robbed Hebrew life of the romantic element, and we find instances that point to highest types of conjugal love. The children, until married, were under the absolute control of the father; sons were more valued than daughters, and

the first-born son stood above his brothers in privileges and duties. Slaves constituted part of the family, and whether of native or foreign origin could become integral parts of it, adopting its religion and even sharing in inheritance.

89. Government. From what has been said it is evident that the Hebrew family was a larger and more heterogeneous aggregation than is commonly known as a family; in fact, the Hebrew term was "house," and it constituted the unit in political organization. The head of the family had within his group absolute authority; and to disobey it carried with it severance from the group and its protection. A number of these "houses" constituted the clan, at whose head stood a chieftain somewhat like the sheik and possessing a rather indefinite authority; and members of the clan celebrated together their sacrificial feasts at their common sanctuary. A number of such clans formed the tribe, whose ruler was freely chosen from those who had distinguished themselves by bravery, wisdom, or wealth; but he ruled only by consent of the governed. The formation of the clans and tribes, as has already been indicated, was still in progress in this period; the struggle for foothold, the shifting of locations, and the joint occupation of native settlements, caused a conglomeration of various elements, of course predominantly Hebrew, out of which came the Israel of Palestine. This explains the growth of some tribes, like Ephraim and Manasseh, the disappearance of others, like Simeon and Levi, and the formation of subtribes, like that of Machir or Abiezer. The "twelve tribes of Israel" is evidently only an artificial enumeration; and it can be obtained only by omitting the tribe of Benjamin or by counting Ephraim and Manasseh as one. This tribal grouping had its origin in nomadic life and was well fitted for it; but underwent quite naturally gradual modification with the settlement in Palestine. As well-defined communities arose, under the influence of the example of Canaanite cities, municipal organizations were effected; and we read of "elders

of the city" (Judg 8. 16); and out of the need of concerted action in time of war grew the tribal champion whose leadership extended beyond that of his own tribe; and out of the champion grew the "Judge," or arbiter, in time of peace; and the desire for greater permanence led to the tribal kingship, as of Gideon, Jephthah, and particularly Abimelech.

90. **Culture.** The Canaanites among whom the Hebrews settled had reached a high state of civilization; and that the latter should have come to feel its influence is only natural. It is probable that they learned from them not only agriculture and the simple arts, but also their system of weights and measures and the mode of writing, which the Moabite stone shows was used also by the Moabites. The remains of literature that have been preserved from the period are rather meager. It was not a time of ease and leisure, conducive to writing, but of action, and, correspondingly, the period of folklore, whose subject was the heroic deeds of the champions of the conquest, like Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson. It was during this period that the patriarchal stories probably took their present shape. They are associated with the familiar places of Palestine, Shechem, Bethel, the Jordan valley, Philistia, Hebron, and Beersheba. Many of them bear the marks of being local legends. They concern the sites of ancient sanctuaries, sacred trees, wells and springs, and ancestral burial places. In these very localities, which had now come into their possession, these stories were told and retold, passing through oral tradition, and taking that perfect form as stories which they have to-day. But written literature also has come down to us from this period in the beautiful poem, the Song of Deborah, bearing all the characteristics of the best type of Hebrew poetry; and another excellent example of another type of literary composition is furnished us in the parable of Jotham.

91. **Morals.** In surveying the moral conditions of

this period it must be borne in mind that it was essentially the age of conquest and pioneering and heroism; and that the sterner elements of virtue as well as of vice showed themselves most prominently. The struggle for existence served to encourage the lower animal passions, and the age for the practice of nobler ideals was yet to come. Ehud's murderous thrust, Jael's treacherous assassination of Sisera, Gideon's blood-revenge, Abimelech's wholesale slaughter of his rivals, and Samson's wanton cruelty and destructiveness reflect a time when might was right. Micah's theft of his mother's silver, and the Danites' theft of the stolen goods and the thief, and all of it in the interest of religion, are not wholesome examples of either religion or ethics. Samson's fondness for Philistine women and the lust of the men of Gibeah (Judg 19. 22-26) reveal glimpses of a most degraded state of social virtue. But there is a brighter aspect, for the Hebrews could never have succeeded in conquering and absorbing the older civilization of the Canaanites unless they had possessed superior physical and moral qualities. Chief among them were courage, fortitude, aggressiveness, and most probably abstinence from the use of intoxicants, for wine-drinking is associated with wine culture and is agricultural; and, as the story of the Rechabites shows, is not a habit with nomadic or pastoral people. Temperate habits they had brought with them into Palestine, and intemperance they did not acquire until later in contact with the native population. In the earlier times their freedom from this vice was an important asset to their conquering powers.

92. Religion. But Israel's chief inspiration was its faith in Jehovah. Hebrew traditions persist in the thought that Palestine is the promised land to the Hebrews and that the wars of conquest were the work of Jehovah, hence they who failed to participate *"Came not to the help of Jehovah . . . against the mighty";* and hence the war cry, "For Jehovah and for Gideon!" But the conception of Jehovah is simple. He is believed to reside still on Sinai, and to

come thence to fight for his people (Judg 5. 4f.); to accept the sacrifice of human beings (Judg 11. 34-40 and compare Gen 22. 1-19), and to inspire Samson with the "Spirit of Jehovah" to accomplish the deeds of violence and revenge. Sacred places are numerous and scattered over the entire land—at Dan, Ophrah, Shechem, Shiloh, and private sanctuaries also existed (Judg 17). Anyone may act as priest, though a Levite is preferred (Judg 17. 5ff.). The divinity was represented by an image, an ephod (Judg 8. 27; 17. 3ff.), and teraphim, probably households idols (but confer Section 65) were also used. The nature of the religious festival at the sacred shrines is illustrated by the dance of the maidens of Shiloh at the annual "feast of Jehovah," and the pilgrimage of Elkanah and his family (Judg 21. 16ff.; 1 Sam 1). That the Hebrews came strongly under the influence of Canaanite religions can scarcely be doubted. Many of their ancient sanctuaries and "high places" they adopted, with all their characteristic paraphernalia—altars and asherahs, or sacred posts. The Canaanite conception of Baal as "Lord" of the land and the dispenser of its fruitfulness was transferred by them to Jehovah, as is clearly seen by such names as Jerubbaal, Gideon's real name (Judg 7. 1). But this change took place gradually, and its baneful effects became apparent only later on, when it aroused the prophetic religious zeal of an Elijah and an Elisha. But at this time the harm was scarcely yet visible; the change apparently was made with the sanction and by the example of Israelite leaders, and the conception of the "framework" in Judges, regarding Israel's defection from Jehovah to Baal, is the true judgment of a time that understood what the adoption of Canaanite religious ideas and customs had done for Israel.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Review the period of conquest and settlement.
2. Consider the changes the period brought to the Hebrews and note the state of social culture they had now reached.

3. Make an estimate of the morals of this period and consider by what forces the Hebrews conquered.

4. Consider the religious ideas and customs of this period: (1) Were they joyous or grievous? (2) How did they differ from those of Mosaic times? See Section 69.

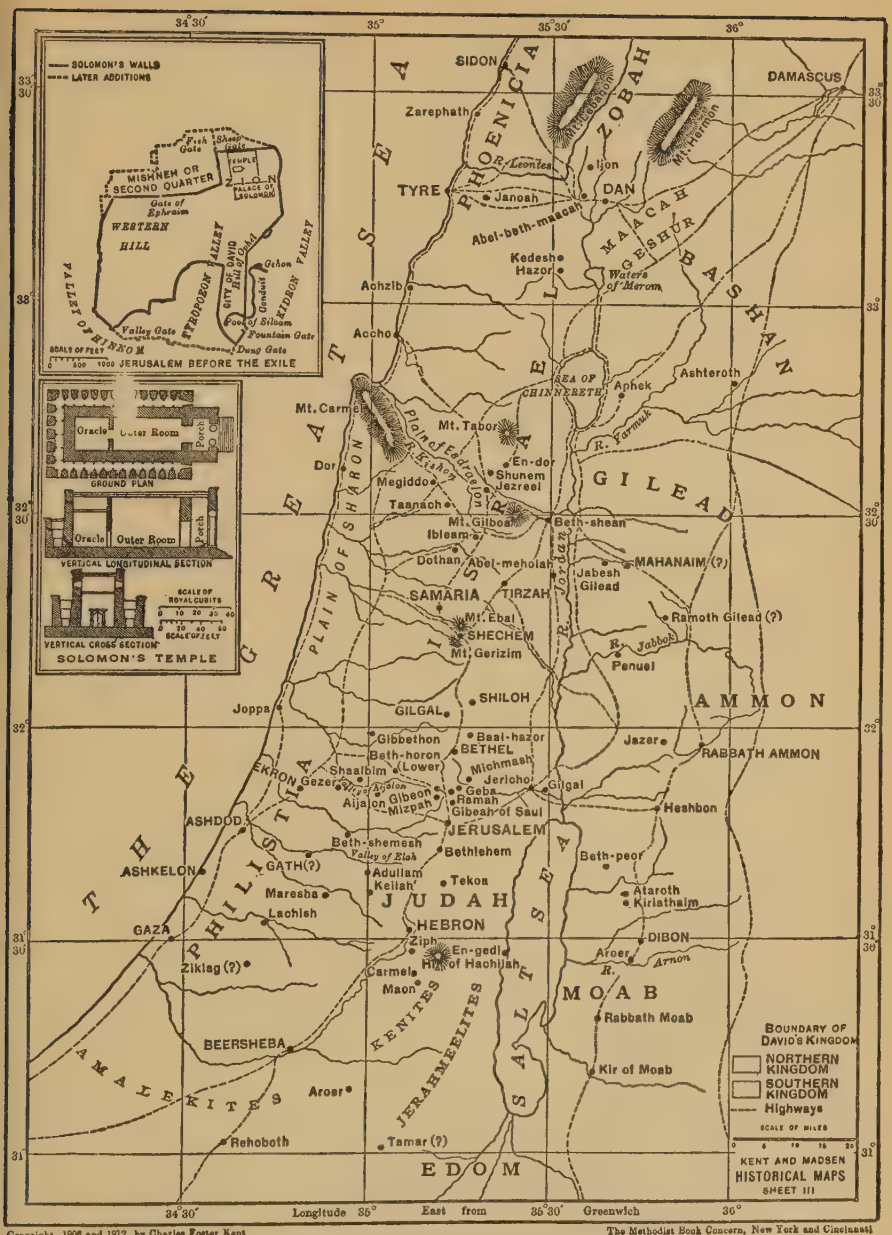
CHAPTER VI

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MONARCHY

1. Samuel and Saul

93. The Philistine Aggressions. The development of Hebrew national life culminated materially in the establishment of the national monarchy, and the chief characters associated with it were Samuel, Saul, David, and Solomon; and the contributory causes were the dangers that threatened Israel's existence by the Philistine aggressions, and the leadership of Samuel.

In Judges we have already met Shamgar and Samson as champions of Israel against the Philistines; but they were evidently but the forebodings of the storm yet to come. It broke out in full force in the days of Samuel. The Philistines, like the Hebrews, were immigrants in Palestine. The prophet Amos (9. 7) says that Jehovah had brought the Philistines from Caphtor as he had brought the Israelites from Egypt. Now the Philistines, a non-Semitic people, had arrived somewhat earlier, probably from Asia Minor and the Greek islands, and had adopted the language of the Canaanites and their customs, except circumcision. They had settled down in that rich section of coast land west of the Judaean hills, and, in addition to agriculture, were engaged in mercantile pursuits, their chief cities lying on the great highway between the Euphrates and the Nile. It would seem that it was the very same desire that prompted Israel to spread in Canaan that brought the Philistines into conflict with them. For in pushing their conquests the Philistines would naturally seek to move along the highway to Damascus and the Euphrates that lay along the coast and the plain of Jezreel.



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UNITED AND DIVIDED HEBREW KINGDOMS, 1050-586 B. C.

It was in this section of country, at Aphek, where the battle was fought that brought Israel a repeated defeat, the death of their aged priest and judge, Eli, and the loss of "the ark of the covenant of Jehovah." 1 Sam 4. 1 to 7. 2

The story of the fortunes of the ark possesses a unique interest. The sacred object possesses magic power, and, although the spoil of war, really lords it over the Philistines. They do not know what to do with it, and in the end are glad to get rid of it. It is just such a story as the Hebrew would wish to tell to show the sorry plight of the uncircumcised Philistines. We are not told why the ark was not returned to its original home in Shiloh, and it appears a legitimate conclusion that the reason was that the Philistines had destroyed the place. The city is not mentioned again in subsequent history, and Jeremiah (7. 12, 14; 26. 6) refers to it repeatedly as an illustration of destruction. The Philistine victory involved apparently the subjugation of central Palestine and particularly the countries of the tribes of Joseph including Benjamin, and its lasting success would have been disastrous to Israel. The Philistine aggression thus meant a crisis, requiring apt leadership and united action.

94. Samuel and the Kingship. The leading figure of this crucial time is Samuel. He must have been a man of great foresight and commanding influence, for it was he who brought about the kingship of both Saul and David; and for no other purpose than to cope with this Philistine situation, in which Saul failed but David succeeded. Our biblical sources give us a double and rather variant view of the character and achievement of Samuel, and very much of the same type as that we have met in the previous chapter. The one view accords naturally with the probabilities of history, but the other embodies the reflection of subsequent history, and both may be seen strikingly illustrated in its attitude toward the establishment of the kingship in Israel. 1 Sam 9 to 11.

According to the earlier account, Samuel is a seer (*chozeh*) and a priest possessing divinely given powers—clairvoyance; he meets Saul, a Benjamite distinguished by a fine reserve and stature, and of noble family, who is in search of his father's asses and comes to Samuel to inquire for them. Samuel, guided by a divine insight, recognizes in Saul the man for the crisis who will save the people "out of the hands of the Philistines." He makes Saul stay with him and talks over with him the situation, treats him with distinction at the sacrificial meal at the high place, takes him home with him, and in the morning secretly anoints him king, giving him certain directions and signs for guidance. This interview with Samuel made a most profound impression upon Saul and is significantly described in the words: "And it was so, that, when he had turned his back to go from Samuel, God gave him another heart" (10. 9). Samuel's signs come true; and Saul meets a band of enthusiasts, called prophets, who under the influence of music give vent to their enthusiasm in physical demonstrations; he falls under their influence and joins with them in their actions, and so "Is Saul also among the prophets?" (For another later version of this saying, see 19. 18-24.)

Saul keeps Samuel's instructions to himself, but a month later the occasion arises when they prompt him to action. The city of Jabesh in Gilead is besieged by the Ammonites and is in danger of shameful surrender. The elders of the city send messengers to the trans-Jordan tribes for aid; but while it makes them break out into tears, it fails to stir them to action. But when Saul hears of it the spirit of Jehovah rushes upon him, and his anger is greatly aroused; he takes a yoke of oxen, with which he apparently is plowing, cuts them in pieces, and sends these bloody tokens throughout all the territory of Israel with the words: "Whosoever cometh not forth after Saul and after Samuel, so shall it be done to his oxen." Inspired by his courage,

the tribes arise "as one man," defeat the Ammonites, and bring relief to Jabesh-Gilead. And the most natural consequence of this victory of Saul is his election to the kingdom at Gilgal.

This account, which, it must be remembered, is distinguished by its own literary character, is consistent with itself and the historical situation. The kingship was nothing new in Israel; the former champions became rulers, and the rulers, as in the case of Gideon, Jephthah, and Abimelech, more or less kings. Samuel, therefore, acts in strict accord with the natural development in Israel, when he, on his own initiative and under providential guidance, anoints Saul king in order to cope better with the national danger due to the Philistine aggressions.

According to the second account, however, Samuel is a "Judge" who in his old age has appointed his sons judges after him. The elders of Israel, dissatisfied with them and desiring to have a monarchy like the surrounding nations, ask Samuel to appoint them a king. He regards this demand as a most serious offense, religiously equivalent to a rejection of the Kingship of Jehovah himself, and politically a serious blunder, for which the people will have to pay dearly. Jehovah's anger over the demand is demonstrated by thunder and rain in harvest time, and the destruction of Israel is averted only by the intercession of Samuel. The method employed in choice of the king is the lot; and it falls miraculously upon Saul, who is then made king; and Samuel provides the people with a constitution of the monarchy.

The second account bears all the characteristics of the Deuteronomic portion of the book of Judges; it is written from the later point of view of theocracy and out of the experience of the religious and political evils that the kingship had brought with it; and it fits in with the scheme of the "Judges" that underlies the "framework" of the book of Judges, in which evidently Eli and Samuel were in-

1 Sam 7. 15 to 8. 22; 10. 17–24; 12. 1–25

cluded. In the same vein are the stories of the childhood and call of Samuel in the house of Eli (1 Sam 1 to 4. 1a), and the sweeping and marvelous victory over the Philistines, anticipating the work of Saul (7. 3-17). They are written with reference to religious instruction and recognize and emphasize the divine elements in history. Samuel is not merely the product of chance, but a child born in answer to prayer, dedicated in early life to God's service, called of God to carry forward his purposes; and Israel's oppression by the Philistines is due to their sin of forsaking Jehovah and worshipping the gods of Canaan and their victory over their enemies brought about by God's favor on their repentance in the sending of a divinely raised champion.

1 Sam 1 to 4. 1a; 7. 2–12

1 Sam 13f.

95. Saul's Victory Over the Philistines. Saul had been chosen king to deal with the Philistines, who were masters in central Palestine, but, probably conscious of the difficulties, he proceeded cautiously. The war broke out unexpectedly through his son Jonathan, who struck down the Philistine garrison in his own town of Gibeah. The Philistines now invaded Palestine and encamped at Michmash, which is opposite Gibeah, but separated from it by the deep pass that forms the entrance to the mountains in the south. Saul was at Gibeah, but had only six hundred men at his disposal. The Philistines had cut off the approach from the north and were plundering the country in all directions. Saul's outlook was not encouraging; but Jonathan saved the day. He conceived the idea of crossing over the pass and attacking the Philistine guards at Michmash. He and his armor-bearer descended the steep cliffs into the valley, and climbed up the other side on hands and feet. The Philistine guards were dumfounded at the daring deed and easily overcome; and the whole Philistine army was thrown into a panic. Saul, who perceived the commotion in the Philistine camp, and learned its cause, now attacks the enemies and scatters them. Desiring to make

a full end of them, he rashly forswears the people from tasting food until evening, which ultimately has most disastrous consequences: the people faint and gorge themselves with raw flesh; and Jonathan, who had not heard his father's vow and had tasted some honey, nearly fell the victim of his folly. But the Philistines were driven from central Palestine. Their yoke was broken, and Saul's choice as king had found justification; but that the victory was only partial and not lasting is seen from subsequent history.

96. Samuel's Break with Saul. Since Saul had met with success against the Ammonites in the eastern, and the Philistines in central, Palestine, he now proceeds against the Amalekites in the south. He wins a complete victory and slays all the people; he saves the best of the spoil and King Agag, whom Samuel hews to pieces "before Jehovah in Gilgal." The Deuteronomic editor also ascribes to Saul conquests over Edom, Moab, and even the Aramæans (1 Sam 14. 47). 1 Sam 15; 13. 5–15

It is quite evident that after a time Samuel breaks with Saul. There are two reasons assigned for it. According to one, he disobeyed Samuel in not showing sufficient zeal in enacting the ban on the Amalekites, and according to another he did not wait for the sacrifice until Samuel had come. If they are the real reasons, Saul was not really king, but Samuel. But the accounts appear more an attempt to find the reason than the reason itself, which has to be sought below such symptoms. Saul does not seem to have come up to the expectation of Samuel and the religious element which he represented. There is a strange silence as to what Saul did in the interests of the ark; and he appears no longer in touch with the prophetic bands of enthusiastic patriots. But the break came and embittered Saul's later life, affecting his spirit and energy, and showing itself in fitful turns of anger, jealousy, and melancholia. We are told that "the spirit of Jehovah departed from Saul,

and an evil spirit from Jehovah troubled him," (16. 14). His public life is now practically ended, and he is overshadowed by his rival David. Saul's character and achievements must be judged in the light of the conditions of his time.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Do not neglect to read first the Scripture passages indicated in the margin of the textbook.
2. Consider the influence of the Philistines on Hebrew history of this period.
3. Note the earlier and later views of the character and mission of Samuel.
4. Trace on a map the sites of Saul's victory over the Philistines.
5. Consider the causes of Samuel's break with Saul.

2. The Rise of David

1 Sam 16 to 18

97. David at the Court of Saul. There are three passages in First Samuel relating to David's appearance at the court of Saul: 1. Ch. 16. 1-13, containing the account of Samuel's mission to Bethlehem and the anointing of David. It is, as it were, the prelude in which Jehovah's purpose appears as the motif of all that follows. If we take it not as a later reflection, based upon David's success, Saul's jealousy and pursuit of David had good grounds. 2. Ch. 16. 14-23, stating that David, well known as "skillful, a mighty man of valor," was called to Saul to bring him relief by his playing on the harp. 3. Ch. 17, the story of David's killing of Goliath. The difficulties with the last story are that after David is said to be a "mighty man of valor and a man of war," he is again a youth and a stripling; that after he has been at the court of Saul he is not known to Saul nor to Abner; that David takes the head of Goliath and brings it to Jerusalem before he had captured Jerusalem, and that the slaying of Goliath is ascribed to one named Elhanan (2 Sam 21. 19).[1]

But it appears most probable that David was drawn to

[1] The Chronicler who saw this difficulty tried to straighten it out by inserting the *brother* of Goliath (1 Chron. 20. 5).

the court of Saul to serve him both as player and warrior; that a strong friendship grew up between him and Jonathan at the court; that Saul's jealousy was aroused against him when the women sang:

"Saul hath slain his thousands,
And David his ten thousands,"

and that he attempted in various ways to get rid of him; and all the more so as he became the favorite of the people and in his own household. For Michal, Saul's daughter, loved him, and David became the king's son-in-law. That his son and daughter conspired to aid David against their father was not calculated to quiet his nervous and jealous disposition, and only led him to greater persistency in planning the destruction of his rival. Thus, David was forced to leave the king's court.

98. David's Outlaw Life. The accounts of David's flight and outlaw life are rather full and redundant at some points, and a number of incidents are given in double and variant forms. His flight to Samuel in Ramah (19. 18-24) is a variant version of the proverb, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" (10. 10-12.) The flight to Achish, king of Gath (21. 10-15), where he saves himself by feigning madness, is difficult to reconcile with his later vassalship to the same king (27. 3ff.). Similarly, David's betrayal by the Ziphites and his generous sparing of Saul's life, are given in variant versions in 23. 19 to 24. 22, and 26 respectively. But aside from these double accounts, we have rather full and clear data for this period of David's life.

After leaving his house in Gibeah David secretly meets Jonathan, who assures him of his father's determination to kill him and of his own friendship and loyalty (19f). Proceeding southward, he comes to Nob, situated a short distance north of Jerusalem, where the priest, Ahimelech, a descendant of the house of Eli, innocently aids him with

1 Sam 19 to 22

food and the sword of Goliath, for which service the whole priestly family is executed by Saul, except Abiathar, who escapes and joins David, bringing his oracular ephod with him (21. 1-9; 22. 6-23). At the cave of Adullam, to be identified probably with Ad-el-ma in Wady es-Sur, his clan join him and other outlaws, and he becomes the captain of four hundred men (22. 1, 2); he finds asylum for his parents in Mizpeh of Moab; and removes to the forest
1 Sam 23. 1–14 of Hereth (vv. 3-5). Three or four miles south of the cave of Adullam lay the old Judæan town of Keilah. The Philistines were besieging it and robbing its threshing floors. This gives David an excellent opportunity to aid his kinsmen and inflict a blow upon the Philistines, both of which he accomplished in the relief of Keilah; but he fails to find safety for himself and his men who had by now grown to six hundred (23. 1-14). He consequently re-
1 Sam 23. 19 to 24. 22; 26 moves to the region of Ziph in southeastern Judah, from whence escape into the rocky wilderness was easy. In this region, where David appeared much at home, he succeeds in outwitting the pursuing Saul and showing himself generous toward him.

In this region also occurred the romantic episode that led to his marriage with Abigail. It appears that David exacted a certain tribute for the support of his company in return for services he rendered in protecting the property of the inhabitants of the neighborhood. Nabal, whose name means "fool," was one of the wealthiest land owners of the region, and when David heard that he was sheep-shearing near by, asked for a share of the provisions. Nabal had sent a churlish answer, and David was about to punish him for it, when his wife Abigail took matters into her own hands and brought David a rich present in person. Her comely manner so pleased David that, when her husband soon afterward died, he married her. By this marriage David came not only into rich possessions, but became allied with an influential clan of the land of Judah. Another

marriage in the same neighborhood is recorded with Ahinoam of Jezreel (25. 2-44).

99. David Among the Philistines. Seemingly becoming tired of the fugitive life, David decided to settle among the Philistines. He became the vassal of Achish, king of Gath, who assigned to him the town of Ziklag, commonly identified with a place about eleven miles southeast of Gaza. Here he played the double role of pretending to make raids on Judah while making them on the Bedouin tribes of the Negeb (ch. 27). When the Philistines invaded central Palestine David joined the expedition (28. 1, 2). But when encamped in the enemy's country, the Philistines became suspicious of his loyalty and forced him to return. Having returned to Ziklag, he found it sacked and burned by the Amalekites. David overtook the raiders, defeated them, and brought back his own and also much spoil, of which he sent gifts to the elders of Judah (29f.). 1 Sam 27 to 28. 2; 29f.

100. The Philistine Victory and the Death of Saul. In the meanwhile Saul's affairs were constantly getting worse. Samuel had died; and Saul had wasted his efforts to hunt down his rival. The Philistines were again in the land. Their army was encamped in the valley of the Kishon, and Saul's along the mountains of Gilboa. As was his custom, he endeavored to find some oracular assurance of the outcome of the approaching conflict. But wherever he turned there was no ray of light. Neither in his dreams, nor by the priestly oracle, nor by prophetic word could he find a favorable response. In his distress he turned to what in his better moments he had himself proscribed as superstitious, a woman who professed to be in communication with the spirits of the dead, that he might obtain through her a word of hope from Samuel. But the voice of the dead was made to speak in the note of the living—that the outlook was dark; and Saul went out that night without hope to meet the Philistines in battle on the morrow. With leadership in such despair, what 1 Sam 25. 1a; 28. 3–25; 31

else could the outcome be? Israel was defeated, Saul's three sons slain, and he himself, rather than fall into the hands of his enemies, fell on his own sword. The Philistines found him dead; carried off his head as a trophy, and hung his body on the wall of Beth-shan. But the men of Jabesh-Gilead, who had not forgotten that the first act of his career was to come to their rescue, gave the king and his princes burial.

101. **The Achievements and Character of Saul.** How shall we justly estimate Saul? His mission to aid Israel to throw off the Philistine yoke he had failed to accomplish. Why? Saul had zeal, courage, enthusiasm, and devotion, but he lacked in perseverance and good judgment. His rash vow, which nearly led to the sacrifice of Jonathan, and the slaughter of the Gibeonites (2 Sam 21. 1) show lack of balance. His religious enthusiasm had not sufficient depth. He was too individualistic; he might have said, like another monarch, "I am the state." This was the cause of the outstanding fault of jealousy, for he estimated everything by the effects on himself. He was not great enough to lose himself in a greater cause or to submit his will to that of another, or to see others succeed, and had the capacity to make enemies more easily than friends. He was a soldier rather than a general, and had the narrow outlook of a peasant rather than that of a king. Much of the failure, no doubt, was due to his malady, which, however, was both cause and effect. Yet he did not labor altogether in vain. His victories over the Ammonites, Philistines, and Amalekites showed what could be done under efficient leadership, and in this respect he prepared the way for his successor.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Compare the various accounts of David's appearance at the court of Saul and consider the qualities likely to bring David into prominence.

2. Follow on a map David's movements during his outlaw life and among the Philistines.

3. Consider the various causes leading to Saul's defeat and death.

4. Estimate the character and achievements of Saul as compared with his predecessors.

3. David, King of Judah

102. David's Grief Over the Death of Saul. Our biblical historian, who writes in the interest of King David's great personality, records the effect that Saul's death had upon David before he states the effect it had upon national Israel. The impression that the biblical account as a whole makes in reference to David's relations to Saul is that though he is fully aware that he is the rightful successor of Saul, he will leave the matter in the hands of Providence, and take no step which would hasten his kingship while Saul is alive. Consistent with this view is the account of the effect which the news of the battle of Gilboa had upon him. He receives it, not as the welcome report of the death of an enemy, but as the sad tidings of the death of a friend and of disaster to Israel. The bearer does not receive the reward which he evidently expected, but, rather, the punishment merited by one who, on his own confession, had "slain Jehovah's anointed." David weeps and fasts and mourns the loss in an elegy of highest poetic merit. There is no reason to suspect the genuineness of this grief, although his death served to make David's progress easier. 2 Sam 1

103. David Made King of Judah at Hebron. Nor did David's grief hinder him from taking a step forward in his ambition. He removes to Hebron, where the men of Judah anoint him king. He certainly creates a friendly feeling by sending a congratulatory message to the men of Jabesh-Gilead for burying Saul. At Hebron David remains seven years and a half, and his household increases there to six wives and six sons. 2 Sam 2. 1–7, 11; 3. 2–5

104. Esh-Baal, Saul's Successor. The Philistine victory had driven Saul's army to the east of the Jordan 2 Sam 2. 12 to 3. 1; 3. 6–39

where it was rallied by Abner, Saul's general, in Gilead. Esh-baal (1 Chron 8. 33; 9. 39), changed later in derision into Ish-bosheth (Baal becoming *bosheth,* "the shameful thing"), a young son of Saul who had escaped slaughter, and probably a minor, was made king in Gilead, with Abner as the regent. There are now two kingdoms in Israel, one in Gilead and one in Judah, both subject to the Philistines, rivals, and in deadly combat with each other, and represented respectively by the generals Abner and Joab. In one of the bouts Abner slays Joab's brother Asahel, and the combats are called off for a time. But war between the two rival houses breaks out again and continues, David steadily growing the stronger.

Esh-baal's kingdom in Gilead could scarcely have been extensive; neither does its king seem to have possessed much force. To make matters worse, a petty quarrel ensued between the king and Abner over one of Saul's concubines. Abner feels offended, and determines to play into the hands of David. David agrees to treat with Abner on condition that he bring with him Michal. While on his errand in Hebron, Joab takes the opportunity of treacherously slaying Abner, thus avenging the death of his brother and at the same time destroying a possible rival. David disclaims all responsibility for the shameful deed and laments the death of Abner, which gains him friends.

2 Sam 4 Abner's intrigues had weakened Esh-baal's hold on his kingship, and, emboldened by his helpless condition, two of his captains conspired against him and slew him. They brought the news to David, hoping to receive reward from him. David, however, consistent in his attitude of friendliness toward the family of Saul, ordered the conspirators executed.

2 Sam 5. 1–5 **105. David Made King of Israel.** There was now but one thing to do. Israel needed a king; there was but one candidate in the field. He had been in the public eye for years; the people knew who he was and what he could do.

His fitness to meet the situation expressed itself in the phrase that he was a man after God's own heart. What wonder, then, that the tribes of Israel came to Hebron and made David king of Israel?

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Read the elegies of David as throwing light upon his character as a friend and poet.

2. Note David's skill as a diplomat and enumerate the various steps he took to gain the kingship of Israel.

3. Note the parts played by Abner and Joab and compare their characters.

CHAPTER VII

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL MONARCHY—DAVID

106. The Wars of Deliverance from the Philistines. Saul had been made king to bring Israel deliverance from the Philistines, but he had failed in his mission. In assuming the kingship of Saul, David assumed the dead king's task; and David succeeded where Saul failed. As long as David remained king of Hebron the Philistines seemed still to regard him as a mere vassal and left him unmolested, but when he was raised to the kingship of Israel they took it as the signal for war. The biblical material relating to this war is somewhat scattered, but when viewed together stands out in considerable detail. It evidently consumed the time and energy of the earlier part of David's reign. The Philistines, as usual, invaded central Palestine, and from thence spread all over the land, in the valley of Rephaim. David, hardly as yet prepared for the war, wisely retreated southward, and made the stronghold of Adullam his headquarters. During this time occurred the daring feat of the three heroes who fought their way through hostile ranks to bring David a drink of water from his native Bethlehem. He denied himself, however, on second thought, its use, as it had been bought with the "jeopardy of their lives." When his army had grown sufficiently strong he attacked the Philistines and defeated them. But once more they gathered in the valley of Rephaim. This time he succeeded in coming upon them in their rear unawares and drove them to the vicinity of Gezer. But even then their power was not yet broken.

2 Sam 5. 17–25; 8. 1; 21. 15–22; 23. 8–39

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ASSYRIAN, BABYLONIAN, AND PERSIAN EMPIRES

The brief notices contained in the list of David's heroes point to many another battle and heroic deed. They tell how David, waxing faint in combat with a Philistine giant, was nearly slain, but was rescued by Abishai; and among the deeds of valor is mentioned that Elhanan slew Goliath. But the repeated blows that David inflicted on the Philistines finally told. He not only drove them out of Israelite territory, but even captured their chief city, Gath (2 Sam 8. 1, and compare 1 Chron 18. 1) and thus most signally settled the Philistine problem. Israel now was in free possession of its country and had a chance for growth.

2 Sam 5. 6–14; 6

107. The Establishment of the National Capital at Jerusalem. Of equal national importance was David's capture of the ancient stronghold of Zion and the making of it the national center. Up to now it had defied capture and was still in possession of native Canaanites. It was a citadel situated on a hill and naturally protected on three sides by steep declivities, made by the Kidron, Hinnom, and Tyropœan valleys, and easily defended on the north side, and possessing a perennial spring near by. Its safety had become proverbial, and David was taunted with the saying that "the lame and blind" could defend it. But David took it, and it has borne the name of the city of David ever since. Its name in the Tell el-Amarna tablets is Uru-salim, hence Jerusalem. He added to its fortification, and built himself a palace, and moved his family into it.

But following his religious impulses, David remembered the ark of Jehovah, and took steps to bring it to Jerusalem. After the destruction of Shiloh it had been for a long time in apparent neglect in the house of Abinadab, in Kiriath-jearim (also called Kirijath-baal and Baale-judah), one of the cities of the Gibeonites, on the border between Benjamin and Judah. The first attempt is frustrated by the death of Uzzah. But when David finds that the ark brings blessing to Obed-edom he makes a second effort, and with much rejoicing places the sacred symbol in Jeru-

salem. During David's time the ark remained in a tent, while David himself had a house of cedar. This incongruity is explained in ch. 7 to the effect that David wished to build the temple, but it fell not within Jehovah's purpose to have the temple built by David but by his son; but the Chronicler assigns another reason, namely, that David was too much of a warrior, or a man of blood, although he makes full preparation for the building of it. That David did indeed make a preparation for the temple is seen in his purchase of the threshing floor of Arauna which may still be seen in the temple area in Jerusalem.

In the establishment of Jerusalem as his political and religious capital David showed excellent statesmanship. Jerusalem was David's own heroic acquisition and belonged neither to Judah nor Israel; its position was central and strong; it had now become the seat of the emblem of Jehovah's presence, associated with Israel's residence in the desert. Jerusalem thus tended to cement the tribes, create national sentiment, and loyalty to the House of David.

2 Sam 10. 1 to 11. 1; 12. 26–31

108. David's Wars of Conquest. The energy displayed by the new king of Israel could do nothing else but affect its neighbors and make them either friends or foes; and their attitude led David to conquests and treaties. The most troublesome were the Ammonites; and they forced David into a long war, when he apparently would have been content to live in peace with them. It appears that David sent a friendly message to King Hanun upon the death of his father, but the king suspected the sincerity of David and treated the messengers shamefully. David sent Joab against Rabboth-ammon, who found that the Ammonites had sent to the Syrians for help and that he was hemmed in by the Ammonites on one side and by the Syrians on the other. He divided his army into two parts and himself took charge of the one against the Syrians, and the other part he placed in charge of his brother Abishai

against the Ammonites. The two divisions attacked the enemy simultaneously and defeated them. The Syrians now sent heavy reenforcements and David himself brought the Israelite army against them. The Syrians were defeated at Helam, in the north of Gilead in the valley of the Yarmuk; they made peace with David and left the Ammonites to defend themselves. The following spring David sent Joab to renew the attack on Rabboth-ammon, while he himself remained in Jerusalem. It was at this time that he fell into sin with Bathsheba; and it was during one of the attacks on the city that Uriah, the Hittite, her husband, was killed. Joab had succeeded in capturing part of the city, when he sent for David to complete it, lest the glory fall to him. David heeded the hint, and came with additional troops and captured it. He carried off much spoil and treated his fallen enemies with great severity. David appears to have followed up his victory over the Syrians by the capture of Damascus, and received the congratulation on his Syrian victories from Toi, king of Hamath. He smote Moab and arbitrarily killed two thirds of the captives. He similarly reduced Edom, and punished it by killing every male. The Amalekites he had entirely exterminated, for they were no longer heard of.

The outcome of these wars was that Israel's boundaries reached the extreme limits they had in its entire history; they extended from Damascus in the north to Elath or Ezion-Geber, the seaport on the Gulf of Akabah, in the south, to the desert in the east, and the Mediterranean in the west. The Philistines were satisfied to leave Israel alone. The nations in the north—Hamath, Tyre, Geshur—respected and affiliated with Israel; Ammon, Moab, and Edom had been made tributary and Amalek helpless; the remains of the Canaanite within the land had been subjected after a struggle of about two centuries; and Israel now had come into real possession of the land of promise: and David had brought it to pass.

2 Sam 8. 15-18; 20. 23-26

109. The Organization of David's Kingdom and Internal Affairs. The internal affairs of his kingdom now began to feel the touch of David's organizing genius. David's kingdom was won and upheld by the sword, and the organization of the army was of chief concern. It consisted of the "Cherethites and Pelethites," that is, Cretans and Philistines, a bodyguard of six hundred foreign mercenaries, which he had gathered in the days of his outlaw life, and, of course, replenished from time to time, presided over by Benaiah (2 Sam 8. 18a). A smaller and more select second body of troops were the so-called "mighty men of valor," *gibborim,* or heroes. Thirty of these are specially mentioned in 2 Sam 23. 8-39. As specially distinguished stand out "the three"; they were probably the officers of either the bodyguard or the troops. The main body of troops was gathered by proscription from the tribes of Israel, according to where the seat of war was. An attempt at a system for providing troops appears to be contained in the account of the census (2 Sam 24), according to which Joab spends over nine months in going through the entire land to number the men fit for the army. But a pestilence sent from Jehovah is looked upon as a punishment for the taking of the census. Joab is the chief of the entire army, a loyal servant, though void of conscience and stopping at nothing to further his plans.

Other officials mentioned are: The "recorder." The Hebrew term means "he who brings to remembrance." His function was either to remind and advise the king, or to record the most important transactions. He probably kept the so-called "chronicles of the kings," which constituted the beginning of Hebrew historiography. The "scribe" mentioned was probably the secretary of state, whose function it was to conduct the correspondence of the king. There was also an officer "over the men subject to task work"; and as forced labor was a species of taxes, it suggests a collector of revenue. The king was the chief

judge, but he might delegate this function to his appointees, and David, no doubt, made such provisions. Among the officials of the king are mentioned the priests Zadok, Abiathar, and Ira; they held their office at the king's pleasure and were subject to him, and it is also stated that David appointed his sons to act as priests.

We get a glimpse of court life, as well as an illustration of David's loyalty to his friend Jonathan, in the account of the admission into court privileges of Mephibosheth, the lame son of Jonathan. But in the most striking contrast is David's attitude toward two sons and five grandsons of Saul. It appears that there was a famine in the land and the oracle ascribed it to Saul's breaking faith with the Gibeonites, who, it will be remembered, were Canaanites allowed by covenant to live among the Hebrews. The Gibeonites demanded that the sin be atoned for by the sacrifice of seven of Saul's descendants. David gave permission; and the seven were taken to Gibeah of Saul and "they hanged them in the mountain before Jehovah"; and Rizpah, the mother of two of the victims, remained on the mountain the entire summer, keeping watch over the bodies to drive off the vultures and wild beasts. 2 Sam 9; 21.

110. **David's Family Life.** David's family life bears all the characteristics of the typical Oriental harem. The biblical records give the names of nine of his wives and eighteen children, and there were others not named. Some of the wives he married, as was customary, for reasons of state; for instance, Maacha, who was the daughter of the king of Geshur, who became the mother of Absalom and Tamar. One marriage, that with Bath-sheba, was the result of adultery and murder. David, it is true, took humbly the rebuke of the prophet Nathan; and it is instructive to note what, according to the parable of the prophet, constituted the sin in this act of David. He had all the wives he needed, as the parable suggests—a stall full of them; why, then, when his visitor arrived, did he 2 Sam 11. 2 to 25; 13f.

take the cherished lamb of the poor man, the one wife of Uriah, the Hittite? David, no doubt, regretted this shameful deed; but Bath-sheba remained his wife, and she became the mother of Solomon, and exerted no small influence upon David and Solomon.

The shameful incident of Amnon and Tamar also, we must frankly recognize, savors of the harem. Amnon was the son of David by Ahinoam, and Tamar David's daughter by Maacha; he was thus her half-brother. To have fallen in love with her and married her would have been lawful in those days, and is seen from Tamar's words, "Speak unto the king; for he will not withhold me from thee." But Amnon used craft and violence, and then spurned her. David apparently had no strong convictions on such subjects. Although he was "very wroth," he did nothing to punish his first-born. This led Absalom, Tamar's full brother, to take the revenge into his own hands; and, after waiting his opportunity, for two years, he succeeded in getting Amnon to visit him, and while the latter was well drunk at the feast, Absalom ordered his servants to slay him. He himself fled to his mother's father in Geshur, where he remained three years. His father longed for him, and as Absalom was in danger of blood-revenge by Amnon's family, he was brought back through the scheming of Joab; but it was two years longer before he was permitted to see his father again and be entirely forgiven.

2 Sam 15. 1 to 16. 14

111. Absalom's Rebellion. A still worse result of this affair was, however, yet to come. Absalom had been embittered by his punishment and sought to take revenge by supplanting his father. He apparently was now next heir to the throne, but not content to await his father's death, and driven also by ambition and vanity, he sought to win the favor of his father's subjects by defaming him and sowing dissension. After four years of secret planning, he, under pretense, moved to Hebron, and the Judæans, who had never relished the removal of the capital to

Jerusalem, and now saw the possibility of the return of their prestige, fell in with Absalom's plans. He also sent agents into central and northern Israel to win a following; and the east Jordan provinces alone stood aloof. Aided by the counsel of Ahithophel, Absalom was now proclaimed king in Hebron; and without delay proceeded toward Jerusalem. The revolution was so carefully planned that David was taken by utter surprise and fled, accompanied by his court and protected by his faithful bodyguard. David sent back the priests Abiathar and Zadok and his faithful Canaanite friend Hushai, to aid his cause. On his way to the Jordan he learned of the slumbering ambitions and hatred of the friends of the house of Saul, Ziba and Shimei, but took it all humbly as a deserved punishment for his sin.

Absalom entered Jerusalem without opposition, and upon the advice of Ahithophel, to show his absolute break with his father, he took public possession of David's harem. Hushai now succeeded in defeating Ahithophel's counsel of immediate and radical action and in sending David word. The latter crossed the Jordan and went to Mahanaim, finding ready support from the residents of the east Jordan province. Absalom's hesitation gave David time to strengthen his forces. Absalom, on the other hand, suffered the loss of his chief counselor, Ahithophel. The battle was fought in the forest of Ephraim near Mahanaim. Absalom's army could not withstand the trained forces of David. In the flight that ensued Absalom was caught by his long hair, while his mule ran from under him. In this defenseless position, and against the strictest orders of the king, Joab killed him. The tidings of his son's death outweighed the tidings of the victory and left David broken-hearted; and it was only with the greatest difficulty that Joab succeeded in arousing the further interest of David.

2 Sam 16. 15 to 19. 39

The return of David to Jerusalem lacked enthusiasm. After some discussion, the Israelites decided to take steps to bring him back. David then appealed to the men of

Judah, as nearer kin, not to be slack in the matter, and offered Amasa, Absalom's general, the place of Joab, whom he hated for his son's death; then Judah, ashamed, came to meet David at the Jordan to bring him over. The king generously granted amnesty to Shimei and Mephibosheth, but failed to persuade the aged Gileadite Barzillai to accompany him to Jerusalem.

2 Sam 19. 40 to 20. 22

112. **The Rebellion of Sheba.** The jealous quarrel between the northern and southern tribes over the prerogative of leadership in bringing the king back is used as an occasion of revolt by the Benjamite Sheba. With the cry, *"We have no portion in David, neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse; every man to his tents, O Israel,"* he succeeds in carrying away with him the tribes of Israel. So that his first public duty, after setting his house straight, on his return to Jerusalem, is to take action for the putting down of the rebellion of Sheba. David commissions Amasa to collect the troops and proceed in pursuit of the revolutionary forces; but when he fails to do so in the appointed time David falls back on Joab and his men. Joab, in characteristic fashion, treacherously puts Amasa out of the way, and then pursues Sheba to the city of Abel-beth-Maachah in the north, a few miles west of Dan; besieges him, until, upon the advice of a "wise woman" of the city, the inhabitants throw over the walls the head of Sheba. Joab returns victoriously to Jerusalem, and general peace is once more restored in Israel.

1 Kings 1–2; 11

113. **The Last Days of David.** The glimpses we get of David during his last days show him as a feeble old man, easily controlled by scheming courtiers, who prefer Solomon as his successor. There was at this time no definite law of succession, but it would naturally tend to favor the eldest son. After the death of Absalom, Adonijah was the eldest, and he legitimately considered himself the crown prince. He was aided by Joab and Abiathar the priest, and David did not object to it. But Bath-sheba had at some

time exacted a promise from David that her son Solomon should be king, although David apparently had forgotten the promise. Siding with Bath-sheba and Solomon were Nathan the prophet, Zadok the priest, and Benaiah, the captain of David's bodyguard. It was Nathan who suggested to Bath-sheba a plan of action, which involved not only collusion but even duplicity. Adonijah had gone to near-by En-rogel, at the confluence of the Kidron and the Hinnon valleys, to make a feast to the king's sons. Nathan sent Bath-sheba to remind the king of his promise, and to tell him that Adonijah was being made king; and Nathan himself appeared at the appropriate time to confirm Bath-sheba's story, even adding that he himself had heard the cry, "Live King Adonijah." The old king evidently became frightened at the prospect of another Absalom tragedy; and ordered immediately that Solomon be anointed king in his place. The Solomon faction, supported by David's valiant bodyguard, easily overawed the Adonijah faction, which scattered, and Adonijah himself fled for asylum to the horns of the altar. Thus Solomon ascended the throne.

Before David died, it is recorded, he left a legacy of revenge to Solomon relating to Joab and Shimei. If it is to be taken just as it stands, it adds another feature to the make-up of one of the most remarkable characters of Old Testament history.

114. The Character and Achievements of David. That David was the greatest king that Israel ever had is commonly held; but opinions differ on what basis the estimate is to be made, some holding it on the basis of his personal character in general, taking the phrase, "A man after my own heart," as evidence of divine approval and descriptive of his life, while others limit it to his political or national achievements. It is in the interest of highest ideals that we need to make the inquiry, and, fortunately, the facts are unmistakably clear.

David was the founder of the national monarchy; he

united the tribes under one ruler, freed them from subjection to their enemies, established a capital, organized the state, extended its boundaries to the extremest limits, and made Israel a power to be reckoned with. This was the accomplishment of a great soldier and statesman. He sustained his reputation of being "a mighty man of valor and a man of war"; his statesmanship he showed by his tact in dealing with his friends and enemies, and in his broad outlook in planning for the nation. He possessed some very commendable personal traits: he was lovable and loving; Jonathan loved him, Michal and the people loved him, and the most valiant soldiers risked their lives to please him, and he was capable of returning the affection. He was magnanimous and a loyal friend. On the other hand, he was cruel in warfare. Think of the hundred foreskins of Philistines which he paid as the dowry for Michal, suggesting the scalping Indian; the way he treated the conquered Moabites, measuring them line by line, and killing off two lines and keeping one line alive; and the Edomites, killing off all their males—cruelties, perhaps not quite as severe as the other nations practised, but cruelties condemned by the enlightened Hebrew prophets two centuries later (see Amos 1. 3-15). His lying to Achish may be ascribed to warfare, but his lie to the priests of Nob cost eighty-five of them their lives. It is evident that he did not make an ideal father nor husband. David was a religious man; he acknowledged Jehovah as his God, always consulted the divine oracle, and placed the ark in Jerusalem. But his religion was of that highly emotional type, which expressed itself in dervishlike dancing and whirling until the devotee dropped down exhausted and lay naked all night (1 Sam 19. 18-24); so David leaped and danced before the ark until he "uncovered himself," much to the displeasure of the modest Michal. Yet his religious zeal did not give him very exalted ideas of Jehovah, for he could believe that Jehovah would kill a man in whose house

the ark had rested for years for endeavoring to steady it when it was in danger of falling on a rough road; or that Jehovah would send a pestilence to kill off thousands of people because the king had taken a census; or that Jehovah had sent a famine because Saul had slain the Gibeonites and that he would not be appeased until seven innocent victims were sacrificed for the sin of their ancestor. As we consider these things in the light of a fuller divine revelation, we must come to realize that David although a great warrior, was yet only a child in morals and religion.

This raises the question of David's relation to the book of Psalms. A late biblical tradition, represented by the Chronicler and embodied in the superscription of the book of Psalms as a whole and of many of the psalms in particular, makes David the author of the book of Psalms. But these superscriptions are not original parts of the Psalms and merely indicate what a late editor of the book of Psalms thought might have been the occasion that led to the composition of the psalm. The internal evidence that the book of Psalms itself offers regarding its origin favors the conclusion that the Psalms, like the hymns in our hymn books, are the contributions of many saints of many ages. Exactly what share David himself had in the collection is now no longer possible to determine. It is certain that David was a minstrel (confer Amos 6. 3-6). That he was also a poet of no mean ability is quite evident from his elegies on the death of Saul and Jonathan and on the death of Abner (2 Sam 1. 17-27; 3. 33f.). His life was characterized throughout by faith in Jehovah. That he should have given poetic expression to his religious sentiment is thus highly probable and accounts for the title given him, "the sweet singer of Israel" (2 Sam 23. 1). But many of the psalms ascribed to him do not fit his time nor his character as set forth in the books of Samuel, which is more of a warrior than saint (confer Psa 5. 6f.; 6; 24. 3-5; 26. 9f.; 28. 3-5). It is quite evident that later

generations idealized David; a comparison of the history of David given in the books of Samuel with that given in the books of Chronicles shows that idealization at almost every stage. It is the Chronicler that ascribes to David the fullest preparation for the building of the temple, consisting of the plans and accumulated treasures and including the arrangements for the services and the organization of the temple choirs, priests and Levites, and other temple officials (1 Chron 22 to 26; 28. 11-19); and it is from this source that the conception has come of David as a saint and hymn writer, embodied in the titles of the psalms. We can easily understand this idealization as the result of the natural appreciation of David's great services to national Israel by a later more spiritual generation. But for the historical David we must look to data furnished by the books of Samuel.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Read the scattered references to David's war against the Philistines and consider what his victory meant for national Israel.
2. Note the various elements that contributed to the importance of Jerusalem as the national capital.
3. Trace on a map the extent of David's conquests and kingdom.
4. Consider David's task and achievements as an organizer.
5. Consider to what extent David's family life failed of the ideal and account for his limitations.
6. Indicate the causes of Absalom's shameful deed and end.
7. Compare David's last years with his earlier life and account for the change.
8. Estimate the character and achievements of David, and point out wherein he is still and wherein he is not a worthy example.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL RESOURCES—SOLOMON

I. The Reign of Solomon

115. The Accession of Solomon. The accounts of the accession of Solomon are of two variant types and difficult to reconcile. According to one element, Solomon feels his kingdom insecure until he has put out of the way his rival brother Adonijah and the leaders of his party, Joab and Abiathar. (1) Adonijah's request to receive in marriage Abishag, interceded for by Bath-sheba the queen-mother, is interpreted as a conspiracy to obtain the kingship, and he is executed by the order of the king. (2) Joab not even the asylum of the altar can save from vengeance; and Benaiah, the executioner, assumes the duties of the chief of the army. (3) Abiathar, on account of his sacred office, is banished to his native Anathoth and Zadok receives his place. Shimei, evidently another suspect, is banished to Jericho with the warning not to leave it; but when the latter, three years later, neglects the warning to seek some runaway slaves, he meets the traitor's fate. These bloody deeds are quite explicable on the supposition that Adonijah expresses the situation correctly when he says, "Thou knowest the kingdom was mine, and all Israel regarded me as the coming king," and that, consequently, Solomon, adopting despotic Oriental custom, secured his throne by destroying his rivals. But according to the other element, Solomon is the pious son of his father David, loving Jehovah and walking in the statutes of his father David, humbly asking of Jehovah, not the life of his enemies, but an under-

1 Kings 2. 12 to 3. 15

standing heart, so that he becomes the paragon of wisdom. The difficulty lies at this point: we have learned that "the wisdom that comes from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated"; and if Solomon had really possessed the highest type of wisdom he might have found means to retain his kingdom without such violence. The fact, however, is that the character of Solomon as a whole is in large measure the idealization of the later editors, who contribute a considerable share of the sources on the reign of Solomon, and reflect what Solomon ought to have been rather than what he was; and we must balance the later with the earlier material to get at the historical facts.

116. The Policy of Solomon. The most distinguishing feature of the reign of Solomon is the development of the material aspects of the kingdom his father had left him, which consisted (1) of his building projects, (2) his system of internal revenue, (3) his commerce, resulting in making the kingdom of Israel a wealthy and, to all appearances, a prosperous nation.

1 Kings 11. 14-25

As compared with David, Solomon was less of a warrior and more inclined to peaceful pursuits. But he was compelled to carry on military expeditions which did not bring him success. Edom, which David had subdued at the terrible cost of all its males, revolted under Hadad, one of the royal line who had as a child escaped to Egypt and there married an Egyptian princess, sister of the queen. The news of Joab's death was his signal of revolt, and Solomon lost this foreign dependency in spite of repeated efforts to hold it. Similarly, Damascus became independent under the leadership of Rezon, leading to the rise of a neighboring rival power which subsequently harassed Israel greatly.

The circle of Israel's foreign alliances Solomon enlarged, for he not only intensified the treaties with Hiram of Phœnicia but married a daughter of the king of Egypt, which brought him the dowry of the Canaanite city of Gezer.

A decided forward step in national administration Solomon took in a series of fortifications. To protect the north he fortified Hazor by the waters of Merom; in the northwest, Megiddo; in the west, the lower Beth-horon, Gezer, and Baalath; in the south, Tamar; and Jerusalem he fortified by a wall and a citadel (9. 15-18). To make his army more efficient, he supplied it for the first time with chariots and horses, and placed them as garrisons in the chief cities (9. 19 to 10. 26). He was the first to inaugurate a national system for the collection of revenue, by dividing the entire country into twelve districts, exempting Judah, and appointing over each an officer whose duty it was to provide his extensive court provisions for a month in the year (4. 7-19). To carry on his many building operations he forced his subjects into service, employing in large measure the surviving Canaanites, and supplying the service most probably by the same or a similar system, with a special officer "over the men subject to taskwork" (5. 13-17; 9. 20-22; 4. 6). He probably levied a tax upon the caravans and traders passing through the dominion. Another means of income were Solomon's commercial undertakings. In partnership with Hiram, king of Tyre, he carried on a maritime and overland commerce, with Ezion-geber, on the Gulf of Akabah, as the seaport. The land of Ophir is probably to be sought along the coast of southwestern Arabia. The articles of trade included gold, silver, sandalwood, apes, peacocks, etc. (9. 26; 10. 11, 22), while from Egypt came the horses, not only for Solomon's use, but for the Syrian trade (10. 28f.). It seems probable that the visit of the Queen of Sheba had a commercial cause, and that her "presents" were articles of commercial interchange (10. 1-10, 13). But the income from all these sources was not sufficient to cover Solomon's expenditures; and he contracted a heavy debt with Hiram for material and labor, which he paid by ceding him twenty cities in Galilee (5. 1-12; 7.13f.; 9. 10-14).

Solomon kept an extensive harem. His foreign marriages 1 Kings 11. 1-13

were contracted, according to the custom of the times, to cement international friendships, and carried with them, in the nature of the case, the introduction of foreign cults. That he had a thousand wives is probably an exaggeration, like most of the statistical data (compare, for instance, the doubling of figures in 1 Kings 5. 11, and 2 Chron 2. 10), due to the later editor. In the Song of Solomon (6. 8) the number is "three score queens and four score concubines." To the later editor also belongs the just condemnation that his foreign wives corrupted the worship of Jehovah.

Kings 11. 26–40

It is no wonder that the immense expense connected with Solomon's administration should have become a severe burden to the people; and it found expression in a revolt which Solomon was still strong enough to put down. The leader was Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, whose second attempt after the death of Solomon was more successful, leading to the disruption of the kingdom. It is evident from subsequent history that the immediate cause of the revolt was the excessive taxation, while in the present context the account of the revolt is given in the form of a homily on the sin of Solomon in forsaking Jehovah for the worship of other gods, as a consequence of which Jeroboam's act was the punishment sent by Jehovah, for which he is commissioned by a prophet divinely sent. This is another illustration of the Deuteronomistic philosophy of history, which justly sees every national calamity caused by a failure to be true to Jehovah; for had Solomon truly followed the teaching of Jehovah, as given by Moses—in other words, followed the democratic ideal of the desert—he would not have made slaves of Israel. Jeroboam succeeded in escaping to Egypt, where he remained till a better opportunity offered itself to carry out the scheme of revolt.

117. **Solomon's Palace and Temple.** In harmony with Solomon's policy of expansion were his plans to provide for himself and his Egyptian queen a royal palace, and in conjunction with it a temple to Jehovah his God. As our

biblical sources are written from the point of view of religion, they have made his fame to rest upon his building the temple. While, as rightly seen by later generations, the temple was ultimately the most permanent contribution to the religious history of Israel, nevertheless, as the plan of the buildings clearly shows, it was but one of the series of buildings constituting his palace. The site of the temple is one of the rare instances possible of exact identification; for the rock in the Haram-es-sherif, over which is built what is commonly known as the Mosque of Omar, is generally believed to have been the spot which David purchased from Araunah the Jebusite, and which he used as an altar of sacrifice. The timber for the building came from Lebanon, and was cut by Hiram's men and brought by raft to Joppa and from thence up to Jerusalem, while the stones were quarried near by. It took twenty years to complete the buildings, seven for the temple and thirteen for the palace.

The description of Solomon's building, contained in 1 Kings 5-8, is not altogether clear, yet its broad outlines can be determined. The buildings formed a connected group, surrounded by a wall of great hewn stones, and a course of cedar beams above (7. 9, 12), forming an inclosure called the outer court; within, the series of buildings were of three kinds: (1) state buildings: the house of the forest of Lebanon; the hall of pillars, and the judgment hall; (2) within a second or "middle" court, the king's private buildings; the palace and the harem; and (3) within the "inner" court, the royal chapel or the temple.

Passing through the southern entrance, one would first come upon the house of the forest of Lebanon, so called because it was built in peristyle of forty-five pillars, arranged in three rows of fifteen pillars each, on which rested the upper story. The ground floor was a single room, one hundred cubits long and fifty cubits wide. This room was probably used for general assemblies; the story above had chambers which served as an arsenal (1 Kings 10. 16f.; 1 Kings 5 to 8

Isa 22. 8; compare 39, 2). Next came the "hall of the pillars" (7. 6), fifty by thirty cubits, entered by a porch of pillars and a flight of steps, and serving as an antechamber or waiting room, and leading to "the Hall of Judgment" (1 Kings 7. 7), containing the great ivory throne with lions (10. 18-20), and serving, as the name indicates, as the place where the king sat in judgment, or gave audiences. As already indicated, within another or "middle" court were the palace and harem of the king, with a separate building for the Egyptian princess (7. 8). The temple stood within a court of its own, known as the "inner court," and formed by a wall of the same construction as that of the main hall (6. 36). It was higher than the palace court and had three gates, one each at the north, the south, and the east, and there was free access to it, and it was used as a place of public assembly, and for the subsequent period it was the scene of many a stirring occasion. It was paved and had side chambers (Jer 35. 4; 36. 10; 2 Kings 12. 12). Occupying a prominent place in this court and in front of the temple building stood the great altar of burnt offering. It was an elaborate piece of workmanship in bronze (confer 1 Kings 8. 64; 2 Chron 4. 1; 2 Kings 16. 10ff.), but probably left here undescribed because of its violation of the earlier custom provided for in Exod 20. 24ff., according to which the altar should be of earth and rough stones.

Between the altar and the temple building stood the great brazen sea (7. 23-26), resting upon the backs of twelve oxen, arranged in groups of three facing each direction of the compass. It had the capacity of about sixteen thousand gallons of water, which was carried in lavers of brass on wheels to where needed for the ablutions in the temple service. On three sides of the temple building, on the north, west, and south, chambers in three stories were provided which were used for the storage of temple furniture and the like.

The temple building was a rectangular structure sixty cubits long, twenty cubits broad, and thirty cubits high, or

in round numbers, one hundred and four, thirty-five, and fifty-two feet respectively, of rather moderate size. It lay east and west with the entrance from the east, consisting of a porch with steps and two bronze pillars of elaborate design, called Jachin and Boaz, and cast by a Tyrian artificer. The interior of the sanctuary was divided into two unequal parts. The anterior apartment, called the Holy Place, was forty cubits long, twenty broad, and thirty high. Although it had openings for windows, it was not well lighted. In it were placed the table of shewbread (6. 20), an altar of incense (7. 48); and the golden candlesticks (7. 49). The interior apartment, called the Holy of Holies, was a perfect cube of twenty cubits, with no opening for light, except the entrance, which consisted of folding doors (6. 31). This was the most sacred spot in the temple, the dwelling place of Jehovah, and containing the ark of the covenant, overshadowed by two cherubic figures, each ten cubits high, with outstretched wings of five cubits length. The walls of this room, as well as those of the anterior room, were covered with carvings of cherubs and palms, and, according to a later element in the description, overlaid with gold.

Upon the completion of the temple, Solomon appointed a feast for its dedication. He publicly transferred the ark of the covenant from the tent to the temple; installed all the sacred utensils; offered sacrifices, and gave utterance to a dedicatory poem. This has, unfortunately, been transmitted in a rather fragmentary and textually corrupt form (8. 12, 13). It is given in somewhat fuller form in the Septuagint, and may be reconstructed as follows:

> The sun has Jehovah placed in heaven;
> He, himself, he said, will dwell in darkness;
> I have built thee a lofty house,
> A dwelling place for thee forever.

The saying thus gives expression to two essential elements in the new situation that the temple has created, namely,

Jehovah's finding a permanent resting place in contrast with his former nomadic roaming, of which the tent is emblematic; and his dwelling in the secrecy of the darkness of his new home.

But our accounts contain also an extensive dedicatory prayer ascribed to Solomon. It is of unsurpassed beauty in language, religious conception, and sentiment; but this outburst of sublimest devotion seems out of place in the mouth of the historical Solomon, and evidently belongs to a time when the temple had become of the deepest spiritual significance through the very loss of it (1 Kings 8. 22-53). Its value is not in its authorship but in its ideals.

118. The Character and Achievements of Solomon. Our estimate of the character of Solomon, as with that of his father David, will depend upon the criterion by which we judge him. If we regard him from the point of view of his own time and the material aspects of his reign, we shall have reason to consider him a great son of a greater father, but not an ideal from the Christian point of view. We must never forget that he was the son of Bath-sheba and greatly influenced by her, and that the atmosphere of the Oriental harem, with its luxuries and intrigues, never left him. He was a strong ruler, holding the reins of his government firmly and in his own hands; and there is no indication that any of his officials controlled him. His task was in the order of things to develop the newly founded kingdom that he inherited from his father, and he accomplished it. He retained practically all that was left to him, for the loss of Edom and Damascus did not seriously affect the integrity of his dominions. He strengthened and widened his foreign alliances; he fortified and beautified his dominion by vast building operations; he developed the national resources by systematizing its revenues, and extending its commerce; he gave prestige and new dignity to the worship of Jehovah by building the temple; and as a result he made the kingdom of Israel to all appearances a wealthy and prosperous nation,

particularly as compared with the surrounding nations. In fact, under him Israel reached the culmination of its material growth, never to be surpassed in subsequent history. This is most probably the reason why his and his father's reigns were ever regarded as the golden age of Hebrew history and the emblem of the best to come.

The wealth and splendor and the wisdom of Solomon have become proverbial. But in the light of higher ideals, we must not shut our eyes to the fact that these were founded on an Oriental despotism contrary to the principles of universal freedom and democracy. His wealth was purchased by enslaving his subjects, and his wisdom failed to teach him to make his subjects really prosperous and content. He sowed the seed of revolt, which bore fruit as soon as he was removed by death. His wisdom, as illustrated by his decision in the case of the two women and the child (1 Kings 3. 16-28; 4. 29-34), was a shrewd common sense, which may well have been one of his characteristics, and some proverbs consisting of shrewd observations on human conduct may well have come from him. But that he was the author of the book of Proverbs and the book of Ecclesiastes is probably as much an idealization as that which makes him the author of the "Psalms of Solomon."

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Consider the throne succession in Israel as the cause of court intrigue and monarchical despotism.
2. Note the commendable and harmful qualities of Solomon's policies.
3. Draw a plan of Solomon's court and buildings and of the temple.
4. Estimate the character and achievements of Solomon.

2. Life During the Monarchy

119. Social Life. The century that elapsed from the founding of the monarchy until the death of Solomon brought far-reaching changes to Israel's social life. The

statement that the king "will take your sons, and appoint them unto him, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and they shall run before his chariots; and he will appoint them unto him for captains of thousands, and captains of fifties; and he will set some to plow his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and the instruments of his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be perfumers, and to be cooks, and to be bakers. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants. And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers, and to his servants. And he will take your men-servants, and your maid-servant and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work. He will take the tenth of your flocks; and ye shall be his servants" (1 Sam 8. 11-17), might easily be taken as recording Israel's experience as it came with the monarchy.

It formed an official class, a bureaucracy, through the favoritism and grants of the king which developed into a rich aristocracy. The people, on the other hand, bore the main burden of it all; so that while the rich became richer, the poor became poorer, creating an undesirable class consciousness, with all its attendant evils—a little later the never-ceasing theme in the denunciation of the prophets. The ease with which foreign marriages were contracted, leading to the introduction of foreign cults, had its marked effect upon social ideals, other religions being lax in their requirements of social purity. The growth of city life also enhanced the evils of luxury and licentiousness; and the extension of commerce brought cosmopolitanism, but also the vices of civilization. Life became, thus, more complex, showing itself in the rise of an artisan class in addition to the trader and agriculturist and soldier. The relations of Israel to the Tyrians, as seen in the accounts of Solomon's building and commercial undertakings, disclose the fact that Israel had not—and, indeed, never—reached that point of

culture when it could supply its own skilled artificers and mariners to carry out elaborate building operations or commercial enterprises at sea. It is quite evident that the Hebrews were not artists or sailors.

120. **Culture.** An indication of advancing culture, a growing out of more settled conditions, was the attempts to collect the national literature. To this period most probably belong the two collections, "The Book of the Wars of Jehovah," and the "Book of Jashar" or "The Upright," of which but short quotations have come down to us. But, judging from these, it would appear that they evidently were a collection of poems celebrating historic scenes and heroic deeds in the struggle for the possession of the land of Canaan (Num 21. 14f., 27-30; Josh 10. 12, 13; 2 Sam 1. 18-27; 3. 33f.; 1 Kings 8. 12f.). The four poetic utterances of Balaam (Num 23. 7-10, 18-24; 24. 3-9, 15-19), it is generally considered, reflect the period of the united monarchy, and 24. 17f. particularly the victory of David over Moab and Edom. In like manner the so-called "Blessing of Jacob" (Gen 49) reflects, at any rate in some of its main features, the same period. As the characteristic of each tribe is held forth, that of Judah is the "scepter," pointing clearly to Davidic rule. And as under David we meet the first appointment of the official "recorder," it seems quite probable that within this period belongs the beginning of prose records or annals of the kings, of which the David stories in the history of David's reign are among its earliest examples.

121. **Religion.** The building of the temple at Jerusalem had the tendency to influence strongly the development of the religion of Israel. Now again, for the first time since their desert life, the Hebrews had one central sanctuary that expressed Israel's religious unity in Jehovah, their God. Not that it was the only legitimate sanctuary, for the "high places" still continued in use; but its splendor and superior sanctity as the dwelling place of the ark of

the covenant, together with its royal and national character, tended in the direction of the centralization of worship, attained in subsequent history. In like manner did it lead ultimately to the exaltation of Jehovah as the God of Israel and the God of the world. Not that this newer conception was already held at this time. We have already seen some phases of David's limited conception of God. Jehovah was Israel's God; but the other nations had their gods. David, driven from Canaan to the Philistines, when he says (1 Sam 26. 19), "to serve other gods," expresses the view of his day that a god has jurisdiction in his own land only. In this light we can understand how Solomon, zealous for his God, Jehovah, in building to him a temple, can at the same time feel no compunction in building temples to the gods of his wives. This practice later generations, with more advanced conceptions, condemn as a defection from Jehovah. But the temple, the nation, and the king became nevertheless the material symbols of spiritual ideas of religion—one God and one kingdom of God—to be attained in due time. It may be said, therefore, that the period from the beginning of Hebrew history to the establishment of the united kingdom, ending with Solomon, is, broadly speaking, the formative period, ending when Israel had reached its highest material development, beyond which it never went; and having thus attained its physical growth, or the material foundation, it was prepared for the moral and spiritual growth yet to come.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Estimate the changes for better or for worse that the establishment of the monarchy brought (1) to the social life, (2) to Hebrew culture, and (3) to the religion of Israel.

2. General Review of the Formative Period: Make use of the outline in the Table of Contents and the section headings and obtain a comprehensive view of the movement of Hebrew history from its earliest beginnings to the death of Solomon. Indicate the various stages of growth in Israel's national life, political, social, moral, and religious.

PART II

THE PERIOD OF THE PROPHETS

FROM THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM, 933 B.C., TO THE RESTORATION UNDER CYRUS, 538 B.C.

CHAPTER IX

THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL

From the Division of the Kingdom to the Fall of Samaria, 933-722 B. C.

1. The Division of the Kingdom

122. The Biblical Sources. The sources are of four kinds: (1) brief annals of the reigns of the kings, embodied in a framework consisting of synchronous dating of the kings of Judah and Israel, based upon data the annals furnished, and estimates of the reigns of each king, according to the standard of the Deuteronomic editor; (2) popular stories concerning Elijah and Elisha, and other prophets; (3) the written utterances of the prophets Amos, Hosea, and the earlier parts of Isaiah and Micah; and (4) for the history of Judah, the Chronicler furnishes an elaboration of the material of Kings, with additions, some of which are based upon good sources, and others originated with him as illustrations of religious truth.

123. The Division and Its Causes. Upon the death of Solomon, Rehoboam, his son, became king. In Judah the succession was accepted, but in Israel, where a popular assembly was gathered at Shechem, its character was to be determined before the ratification. The issue was the question of excessive taxation. Popular discontent had been aroused by the burdens which had fallen on the people by the extravagance of Solomon's reign. Representative government, also, was in danger through the tendency to make the monarchy hereditary and despotic instead of elective. 1 Kings 12. 1–25; 2 Chron 10

The prophets, who always stood up for the rights of the common man, did not hesitate to show their hostility to

the prevailing oppression (1 Kings 11. 29-39; 12. 21-24). The old tribal jealousies between Judah and Israel still existed, and the man (Jeroboam) stood ready and waiting to champion the cause of the people by raising the standard of revolt (1 Kings 11. 26-28, 40; 12. 15, 20). When Rehoboam, therefore, obstinately refused to give the people relief the Israelites asserted their political freedom, and broke away from the house of David. The first victim of the rebellion was Adoniram, the chief tax collector; and Jeroboam, who conveniently returned from his exile at this crisis, was elected king.

124. **The Political Consequences.** The united Hebrew state, the achievement of David, after an existence of seventy-three years was broken in two. As each part sought ascendency over the other, both became weakened by constant wars. The result was the loss of their dependencies and of the opportunity of becoming a world power. But the political consequences were not altogether evil, for had the policy of Rehoboam prevailed, the Hebrew state might have developed into an Oriental despotism. The revolt was in the interest of universal democracy, for out of it grew the social teachings of the prophets Amos and Hosea.

Old Testament history has now to deal with two Hebrew kingdoms: (1) the kingdom of Judah, or the Southern Kingdom, with its capital Jerusalem; relatively inferior in size, fertility, political prestige, and religious influence to its rival, in spite of its advantages as regards homogeneity of population, the temple, and the dynasty of David; and (2) the kingdom of Israel, or the Northern Kingdom, with its capital ultimately at Samaria, overshadowing its rival in wealth and numbers. To it belong for two centuries the great political and religious movements, for it was the scene of the great Syrian and Assyrian invasions and of the activity of the prophets Elijah and Elisha, Amos and Hosea.

EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

125. The Religious Consequences. To secure his throne, Jeroboam provided for his kingdom two sanctuaries, to rival the temple of Jerusalem, one at Dan, in the extremest north, and the other at Bethel, in the extremest south. Both places were ancient Israelite sanctuaries; but the innovation consisted in placing in each of them a molten golden calf to represent Jehovah. This constituted the sin of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, "wherewith he made Israel to sin." This is the oft-repeated accusation of the Deuteronomic author of Kings; and by far the larger part of his account of Jeroboam's reign is employed to enforce the wickedness of this act. The material which is drawn from the popular prophetic stories predicts the destruction of the altar of Bethel; and illustrates its sacrilege by telling of the punishment visited upon the king, whose hand withers; upon a prophet, whom a lion slays; and again upon the king, who loses his son and heir. The "calf" was really a young bull or heifer, representing among the Canaanites respectively Baal or Astarte. But Jeroboam meant them to represent Jehovah rather than Canaanite divinities (12. 28). Even so, their Canaanite character tended to make Baalism popular, and they violated the imageless principle of Jehovah worship embodied in the second commandment. While our material reflects the Deuteronomic attitude in condemning Jeroboam's act, the prophetic bands of his own day were already offended by it.

1 Kings 12. 26–33

1 Kings 13. 1 to 14. 18

126. From Jeroboam I to Omri. The kings of this period were:

1 Kings 12. 25; 14. 19f.

Israel		Judah	
Jeroboam	933-912	Rehoboam	933-917
Nadab	912-911	Abijam	916-914
Baasha	911-888	Asa	913-873
Elah	888-887	Jehoshaphat	873-849
Zimri	7 days		

Within a period of forty-seven years five kings occupied the throne of Israel. Of Jeroboam's reign of twenty-two

years (933-912) nothing further is recorded than that he fortified Shechem, but removed thence to Penuel (Mahanaim) on the east Jordan side, being driven there, we may suppose, either by his rival Rehoboam or by the invasion of Shishak, king of Egypt (14. 25). His son Nadab (912-911) reigned but two years, when he was assassinated in camp while his army was besieging the Philistine city of Gibbethon (possibly the modern Kibbiah, northeast of Lydda) by Baasha, one of his generals, who became king, and in Oriental fashion secured his throne by slaying all the descendants of Jeroboam.

1 Kings 15. 25-29, 31

Baasha's reign of twenty-four years (911-888) was characterized by the aggressiveness with which he carried on the war against Judah, blockading Jerusalem by building Ramah until driven off by Judah's Syrian ally, Benhadad (15. 16-22; 16. 8-14). His son Elah (888-887) reigned but two years, when he was assassinated, while drunk, in his palace at Tirzah, by his general (16. 15-20) Zimri, who, in turn, after a seven days' reign, was burned by Omri.

1 Kings 15. 32 to 16. 7

Asa bears the reputation of a religious reformer. Baal worship had made inroads into Israel, and, under the protection of the queen-mother, sacred prostitution had been established. Asa took rigorous measures against these abominations. The invasion of Baasha he warded off by the hired aid of the Syrians, who at this time came upon invitation, but later when not invited nor wanted, thus introducing into Israel's history the increasingly aggressive northern power. The Chronicler introduces a story of a Cushite invasion of a million strong, which Asa overcomes by the aid of prayer; but he later used this victory to rebuke Asa for inviting the help of the Syrians.

1 Kings 15. 9–24; 2 Chron 14 to 16. 14

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Consider the causes of the division of the Hebrew kingdom and the part the prophetic part took.

2. Note the political consequences and trace on a map the extent of the two kingdoms.

3. Note the religious consequences of the division and Jeroboam's real intent.

4. Underscore in your Bible the names of the kings and place the dates in the margin.

5. Compare the account of Asa's reign in Kings and Chronicles and account for the latter's variations

2. The Dynasty of Omri

The kings of this period were:

Israel		Judah	
Omri	887-875	Jehoshaphat	873-849
Ahab	875-854	Jehoram	849-842
Ahaziah	854-853	Ahaziah	842
Joram	853-842		

127. The Reign of Omri. During the reign of Omri's predecessors Israel had been losing ground. Moab had revolted and extended its boundaries; Damascus was encroaching on Israel's territory in the northwest, and the nation had become weakened by civil war and internal feuds. But with the accession of Omri Israel experienced a national uplift, and his reign of twelve years (887-875) was distinguished by energy and statesmanship. He was the David of the Northern Kingdom. As a warrior he held in check the Syrians, and subdued afresh the Moabites, as we learn from the "Moabite Stone." The Assyrians knew Israel of this period as "the land of Omri." With the Phœnicians he entered into friendly relations by the marriage of his son Ahab with Jezebel, the daughter of the king of Tyre. It was he who selected the site of the hill on which to build Samaria, which for the purpose of fortification was not unlike the hill of Zion; and it was under him that more friendly relations with Judah began, leading to intermarriage between the two royal houses. 1 Kings 16. 21–28

128. Political Events in Israel and Judah to Jehu. Ahab, Omri's son (875-854), carried forward his father's 1 Kings 16. 29–34; 20

policies with great energy. Like Solomon, he was a builder, beautifying his capital, Samaria. His marriage with Jezebel brought him Phœnicia's friendship, and the marriage of his daughter Athaliah with Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah (873-849), brought the two kingdoms into closest relations. Two campaigns of his are recorded against the Syrian kingdom of Damascus, in both of which he was successful; but instead of following up his victory over Ben-hadad, he generously allied himself with him under protest of the prophetic party, probably in order better to meet the aggressions of their common foe, the Assyrians.

In the battle of Karkar, in which the forces of Shalmaneser III (859-825 B. C.) met the coalition of kings of the Lebanon region and Syria, Ahab was present with ten thousand men and two thousand chariots.[1] But after the Assyrian danger was over, Ben-hadad did not keep his part of the conditions of peace, namely, the evacuation of certain cities of Israel, and especially Ramoth-Gilead. Ahab in conjunction with Jehoshaphat undertook to recover this city, against the advice of the prophet Micaiah, and the attempt, in spite of the precautions, cost him his life.

1 Kings 22. 41–50
2 Chron 17 to 20

Jehoshaphat of Judah, like his father Asa, is credited with religious zeal for Jehovah worship, especially by the Chronicler, for which he is rewarded by a great victory over Moab and Ammon; but severely censured for his friendship with Israel, to which is ascribed, in contrast with the account in Kings, his failure in an attempt to build a navy (compare 1 Kings 22. 51-53, with 2 Chron 20. 35-37).

1 Kings 22. 51–53;
2 Kings 1. 1; 3; 8. 16; 9

The successors of Ahab, Ahaziah (854-853) and Jehoram, or Joram (853-842), and of Jehoshaphat, Jehoram (849-842), and Ahaziah (842), inherited the political problems of their fathers, namely, the revolt of their dependencies,

[1] See the Monolith Inscription, line 91f., in Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, p. 294ff.

Moab and Edom, and the aggressiveness of the Syrians; but they possessed not the energy and force to cope successfully with them. "The Moabite Stone" inscription bears witness to the military successes of Mesha, the king of Moab. Ramoth-Gilead was still in the hands of the Syrians when Jehu, secretly anointed king through Elisha, made an end of the dynasty of Omri in slaying Jehoram, and at the same time also Ahaziah, king of Judah, who was on a visit in Jezreel with the king of Israel.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

Underscore in your Bible the names of the kings and insert the dates in the margin.

2. Note the important character of Omri's reign and look up the description of the "Moabite Stone" in the Dictionary of the Bible.

3. Note Ahab's alliance with Phœnicia and his wars with Syria. Look up the reference to Rogers's Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament.

4. Compare the accounts of Jehoshaphat's reign in Kings and Chronicles and note and account for the latter's differences.

5. Note the simultaneous end of the kings of Israel and Judah.

3. The Religious and Social Crisis in Israel

129. Baalism. With the reign of the dynasty of Omri came to the culmination a religious and social movement that had been in process of development during the centuries since Israel came into closer contact with the Canaanites—Baalism. It is important to understand well the nature of this cult in order to realize its attraction on the one hand, and the opposition to it on the other.

Baalism, as practiced among the Canaanites, was a simple nature religion in which the male and female principles of life were represented by a bull and a cow, Baal and Baalath, or Astarte. The words literally mean "master" and "mistress," that is, of the soil, the source of the products of life. It was the religion of agricultural people; and the worship consisted in the presentation of the fruits of

the soil as a tribute to the divinity that had caused them. Associated with the worship were festivities—harvest festivals—when the worshipers would gather, eat and drink in the presence of the divinity, and then give themselves over to promiscuous and immoral intercourse between the sexes. The story of the golden calf (Exod 32) may be taken as a typical description of such riotous acts, when they "offered burnt-offerings, and brought peace-offerings; anl the people sat down to eat, and to drink, and rose up to play" (v. 6); another similar description is that of the worship of Baal-peor in Num 25. Another form this cult took consisted in the institution of sacred prostitution in connection with the sanctuaries, and provided for both male and female prostitutes, Chemarim and Kedeshoth.

From the time that Israel first came into contact with the Canaanites and began to practice agriculture the cult appealed to them. The longer they lived among them the more opportunity they had to come under its influence. The establishment of the monarchy and royal foreign alliances augmented the influence, and it reached its climax when the Tyrian Jezebel, with a genuine missionary zeal for her religion, sought to supplant the Jehovah religion by that of Baalism. The crisis that Israel faced was not only religious but also social, for the ideals of Baalism were debauchery and prostitution, or in modern terms, drunkenness and free love, all the more dangerous because made general and respectable under the sanction of religion.

130. **The Champions of Jehovah against Baalism.** The champions of the pure Jehovah worship and life were the prophets Elijah and Elisha, and associated with them Jehu and Jehonadab ben Rechab; and it is noticeable that the reaction originates with men who represent the ideals of the desert life, Horeb and Moses.

1 Kings 17 to 19. 21
2 Kings 1 to 8. 6; 9 to 11

Much of the material concerning Elijah and Elisha is of the nature of popular stories, such as gather round

personalities that have made an impression upon their time. Strictly relevant to the problem of Baalism are: (1) the contest on Carmel, (2) the theophany at Horeb, (3) the interview with Hazael, and (4) the anointing of Jehu, his commission and its execution.

131. **The Contest on Carmel.** The account is that of a highly dramatized act culminating on the top of Carmel; but we need to get behind the act to arrive at the meaning. The question at issue was ideals of religious and social living. The contest on Carmel, historically interpreted, summarizes in one act the entire activity of the burning zeal of Elijah. It reflects the impression that desert prophet had made upon some at least of his day in untiringly presenting the issue involved between Jehovah and Baal. *"How long go ye limping between the two sides? If Jehovah be God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him,"* was said not merely once, but again and again, and with ever-increasing fervor and persuasiveness. 1 Kings 18

132. **The Theophany at Horeb.** Here also we must get the figure of vv. 9-14, aided by vv. 15-18. The chapter implies that Elijah's efforts had not met with success, and Baalism was still a problem. A new method must be found to cope with it: what the wind, the earthquake, and the fire had failed to accomplish a gentle whispering sound should do; spasmodic violence should give way to quiet planning. Historically interpreted in the light of vv. 15-18, it meant that Baalism could not be dislodged from Israel as long as the dynasty of Omri was dominant; for it was married through Jezebel to Israel, and intermarried through her daughter Athaliah with Judah, and well intrenched in the land. The new way to dispose of it is a series of well laid and executed plots or conspiracies by which Hazael shall become king of Syria and Jehu king of Israel; and Elisha is to be the agent to carry out the plan. Baalism, according to this new program, will be simultaneously attacked from three sides, so *"that him that escapeth from the sword of* 1 Kings 19

Hazael shall Jehu slay; and him that escapeth from the sword of Jehu shall Elisha slay."

2 Kings 8. 7–15

133. **The Interview of Elisha with Hazael** is the first step in the carrying out of the program. In the form of a prediction it makes Elisha responsible for the conspiracy by which Hazael usurps the throne of Syria, and for the havoc that follows in Israel through his aggressions.

2 Kings 9. 1 to 10. 28

134. **The Anointing and Commission of Jehu.** The second step in carrying out the program was taken when Elisha sends one of his prophetic disciples to Ramoth-Gilead, where the army of Israel is at war with the Syrians, to anoint secretly its general Jehu and to commission him with the total destruction of the house of Ahab. Jehu at once sets to work with zeal to carry out the commission. He furiously drives to Jezreel; he takes Joram, king of Israel, unawares and slays him; and at the same time mortally wounds Ahaziah, king of Judah, who is on a visit with his royal cousin. He then turns his attention to Jezebel, and orders her to be hurled from the window of her palace. By correspondence he conspires with the elders of Samaria to have seventy "sons" of Ahab beheaded. Their heads are promptly forwarded in baskets to Jezreel, where they are placed in two heaps at the entrance of the city. On his way to Samaria, Jehu meets with forty-two relatives of Ahaziah, king of Judah, and slays them.

But the climax is reached when Jehu meets a man after his own heart in Jehonadab ben Rechab, representing a nomadic reaction against agricultural voluptuousness (Jer 35. 6-19), and joins hand and heart with him. Together they plan to entice the Baalites, under pretense of a feast to Baal, into the courts of the temple in Samaria, and totally slay them. "Thus Jehu destroyed Baal out of Israel" (v. 28).

This bloody zeal for Jehovah, the first systematic religious persecution, carried on by instigation of an earlier type of prophetism, can be justified neither on moral

grounds nor by the results which it aimed to achieve. It is not persecution but conversion by which religion prospers; and soon after a more enlightened prophetism condemns Jehu's bloodshed by the announcement, "I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu" (Hos 1. 4). Jehu did not really destroy Baalism, for its persistence in one form or another is witnessed by the preaching against it of the prophets a century later (confer Hos 2. 8-13).

135. Israel and Judah's Decline. The kings of this time were: 2 Kings 10. 29-36

Israel		Judah	
Jehu	842-815	Athaliah	842-836
Jehoahaz	814-798	Joash	836-797

The political effects of Jehu's violent policy were disastrous; it weakened the national force so that Israel became the ready prey of its enemies; and for a period of half a century it suffered a serious decline. On Shalmaneser's Black Obelisk Jehu is depicted with prostrate form before the King of Assyria, and underneath his figure is the legend, "Jehu of the land of Omri"; and beneath the reliefs is recorded his tribute: "Silver, gold, a bowl of gold, a basin of gold, cups of gold, pails of gold, bars of lead, scepters for the hand of the king, and balsam woods."

The biblical historian records that "in those days Jehovah began to cut off from Israel: and Hazael smote them in all the borders of Israel." During Jehu's reign (842-815) the Syrians took from Israel the entire east Jordan province; and under that of his successor, Jehoahaz (814-798), it suffered further humiliation at their hands, being reduced to a mere dependency, with a very limited military force. 2 Kings 13. 1-9

In Judah, Athaliah avenged Jehu's murder of her mother Jezebel by slaying the innocent Davidic seed royal and holding the throne for six years (842-836). But one of the royal line escaped, Joash, and was kept secretly by 2 Kings 11-17; 2 Chron 24

his aunt. When the boy was seven years old his priestly guardian, Jehoiada, planned a revolution with the aid of the temple guards, by which Joash was proclaimed king and Athaliah slain. The young king showed the priestly influence of his early environment by the interest he took in the repair of the temple at Jerusalem, which had been sadly neglected; and he also took steps to remove Baalism from Judah. His reign lasted forty years (836-797); although he also felt the powerful hand of Hazael, who captured the Philistine city of Gath, and was bought off from laying siege to Jerusalem only by the treasures of the king's palace and the temple.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Consider well the character of Baalism and the social and religious problems it presented. With what national problem of our day may they be compared?

2. Consider the program and methods employed in dealing with the problem and judge whether they might still be employed.

3. Underscore the names of the kings and insert the dates in the margin of your Bible.

4. Look up Shalmaneser's Black Obelisk and the reference to Jehu in Rogers's Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, pp. 303f. and Plates 31f.

5. Compare the reign of Joash in Kings and Chronicles.

4. The Political Recovery of Israel and Judah

The kings of this time were:

Israel		Judah	
Jehoash	798-783	Amaziah	797-779
Jeroboam II	783-743	Azariah (Uzziah)	779-740?

2 Kings 13. 10–25

136. The Reign of Jehoash. With the beginning of the eighth century the fortunes of Israel and Judah began to change, and before the middle of the century they together had regained their political greatness—a greatness not inferior to that of David's. The cause of the change is briefly hinted at in the words, "And Jehovah gave Israel a saviour,

so that they went out from under the hand of the Syrians" (13. 5). This saviour was none other than the Assyrians, although some take the reference to point to Jeroboam II (14. 26f.). The records of Adad-nirari II (812-783 B. C.)[2] give an account of his extensive conquest which included the whole of Syria, the land of Omri, that is, Israel, Edom, and Philistia; but he particularly laid low the Syrians of Damascus, whose king, named Mari, he shut up in Damascus, his royal city, and made him surrender. This Mari was probably a usurper who had seized the throne upon the death of Hazael, and soon afterward was displaced by Ben-hadad III. The Assyrian victory had broken the power of Damascus, and Jehoash, urged by the aged Elisha, smote Ben-hadad thrice and recovered the cities Israel had lost, although with the expenditure of a little more energy he might have done even better.

Jehoash also won a victory over Amaziah, king of Judah (797-779), who after he had avenged his father's murder, and had recovered Sela of Edom, considered himself strong enough to invite a quarrel with Jehoash. But the latter defeated him at Beth-shemesh, broke down a part of the wall of Jerusalem, and made Judah subject to Israel. Conspirators pursued the king to Lachish and slew him. 2 Kings 14. 1–20

137. The Reigns of Jeroboam II and Uzziah. In the reign of these kings both Israel and Judah reached the height of their political prosperity, unsurpassed even by that of David and Solomon.

Jeroboam II (781-740), to whom is ascribed a long reign of forty-one years, pursued the policy of his father with great energy. Of him it is recorded that " he restored the border of Israel from the entrance of Hamath unto the sea of the Arabah" (v. 25). This implies the total subjugation of the Syrian kingdom of Damascus to its most northerly extremity as well as that of Moab. 2 Kings 14. 23–29

The vassalship of Judah to Israel apparently continued,

[2] See Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, pp. 307ff.

but did not prove a disadvantage, and in Judah also the boundaries were extended southward. Azariah, who also bears the name of Uzziah, has ascribed to him by the Chronicler an even longer reign of fifty-two years. But Uzziah was a leper, and his son Jotham acted as co-regent, and the dates are confused. Uzziah (779-740?) completed the restoration of Elath, which was begun by his father, and thus opened up afresh the commercial traffic on the Red Sea, as in the days of Solomon. The Chronicler adds, from what appear good sources, that he extended his conquests into Philistia, the Negeb, and Ammon; and that he carried on building enterprises in Jerusalem and equipped his army. The Chronicler also accounts for Uzziah's leprosy by ascribing to him an attempt to assume priestly functions in the temple.

2 Kings 14. 21f.; 15. 1–7; 2 Chron 26

The total effect of these reigns was a remarkable revival of prosperity, which, together with the approach of the Assyrians, brought about conditions in Israel and Judah that gave rise to a movement the most important in Hebrew history, the *Rise of the New Prophetism.*

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Underscore the names of the kings and insert the dates in your Bible.
2. Look up the reference to Rogers.
3. Note well the meager biblical data in Kings and the great importance of this period and the means of supplementing the data.

5. The Social and Religious Life of the Divided Kingdom to the New Prophetism

138. The Biblical Data. The popular stories of the prophets of this period, of less value as sources for the political history, are of greater service as throwing light upon the social and religious life of this time, all the more so because they are nearly contemporaneous with the time with which they deal. The prophets of these stories stand,

as it were, half way between the earlier type of prophetism represented by the seer Samuel and the representatives of the new prophetism, Amos and Hosea; and we find in them the material to trace the intervening steps in the process of development of the most characteristic element of Hebrew religion.

139. **The Political and Social Ideals.** The manner in which Elijah rebukes Ahab for robbing Naboth of his vineyard may be taken as a typical example of the manner in which the prophets of this time stand up for the rights of the common Israelite against the aggressions of the king and his aristocracy. Another illustration is the sympathy of the prophetic party with representative Israel in breaking away from Rehoboam, when he refused relief from burdensome taxation. The story of Elijah's miraculous increase of the widow's oil and meal and the raising of her son reflect similarly the prophet's sympathy for the needs of the poor. The civil laws of the Book of the Covenant, its laws of damages, for instance, show respect for the rights of the individual. The burning zeal of the prophets against Baalism was in the interest of the home and social purity.

140. **The Religious and Ethical Ideals.** That Israel is Jehovah's people and Jehovah Israel's God, is a prominent conception; and it accounts for the jealousy which the prophets Elijah and Elisha exhibit when Baal or Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron (2 Kings 1. 2-4, 16), receives the honors due to Jehovah. But Jehovah is still thought of as limited to the soil of the land of Israel; and when Naaman, the Syrian, begs of Elisha to be allowed to carry with him two mules' load of earth to build thus on the soil of Israel an altar to Jehovah in Damascus, the prophet does not tell him that Jehovah is the God of all the earth, but allows him his request (2 Kings 5. 15ff.). Elijah does not consider the sanctuaries outside of Jerusalem as illegitimate, but calls the altars of Israel Jehovah's altars (1 Kings

19. 14). Neither does Ahab mean to renounce Jehovah by allowing his wife Jezebel to worship her god, for he shows his adherence to Jehovah by naming his children after him, as Ahaz-Jah, in which the last syllable stands for Jehovah. These facts indicate that the conception of monotheism had not yet been attained, but only that of monolatry, which requires only that each nation should be true to its god.

A most striking characteristic of the religious conception of this period is what may be called the consciousness of the physical nearness of Jehovah. It expresses itself in the anthropomorphisms in J's narratives, speaking of God as if he were man; and in the prophetic stories in the abundance of miracles which the prophets Elijah and Elisha, as men possessed of God, accomplish. They divide rivers, bring fire from heaven, make iron swim, strike whole armies with blindness, know other people's secrets, raise the dead, even after their own deaths. All this emphasizes the magic and mantic aspect of this earlier prophetism in contrast with the spiritual and ethical elements which predominate with the prophets of later time. The ethical ideals of this time are thus correspondingly lower. It does not seem wrong for a prophet like Elisha to curse children who cry after him, "Bald head," so that forty-two of them are torn by she-bears (2 Kings 2. 23ff.); nor to instigate conspiracies and bloodshed, as has been pointed out, to drive out Baalism, policies which later prophetism condemns.

Yet these prophets and their prophetic disciples formed into bands were religious and patriotic enthusiasts, with a zeal for Jehovah, but not according to the higher knowledge yet to come in the process of divine revelation.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Read the stories about Elijah (1 Kings 17 to 19 and 21), and about Elisha (2 Kings 2; 4 to 6; 8; and 13), for the light they

throw on the social and religious conditions of this time. Note the function of the prophets and the "sons of the prophets."

2. Read the Book of the Covenant (Exod 20. 22 to 23. 33), as the law code in force at this time and note what social and religious conditions it reflects.

3. Read Gen 2. 4 to 3 and J's account of the Flood (see Sections 23f.) for the conception of God of this time.

4. Compare the character and methods of Elijah with those of Elisha.

6. The New Prophetism

141. The Biblical Data. For the most crucial time in Hebrew history, when both kingdoms come to an end, the books of Kings have but the briefest statements and leave us often without adequate information to understand the situation. But, fortunately, another type of literature comes to our aid in the books of the *Writing Prophets,* as the prophets from Amos on are called (Section 8).

142. The Character of the New Prophetism. Prophetism, as we have seen (Section 69), goes back to the time of Moses, and has appeared throughout Hebrew history; but while it had its prior development, it assumes from the middle of the eighth century such a form as to permit it to be called new. The outlook has now become remarkably broader and deeper: there appears a new emphasis upon ethical principles; nationalism broadens into universalism, and henotheism, or monolatry, into monotheism—features which constitute the uniqueness of the religion of the Old Testament.

A combination of causes accounts for the new phenomena: 1. The peculiar social conditions of the times of Jeroboam II and Uzziah, when one class of the nation has suddenly become affluent, leading to excesses of luxury, arrogance, and pride, oppression of the poor, and licentiousness and immorality under the sanction of foreign types of religion. 2. The peculiar political conditions due to the aggressions of the Assyrians, who though they have appeared before, come now with resistless force, sweeping all before them.

3. Most important of all, the rise of men and women (for there are prophetesses) who have come under the influence of the broader culture of their times without being blinded by it; who know of principles of justice and purity, mercy and love; who have come into living touch with God, and interpret the movement of their time in the light of his demands and purposes; who live near enough to God to hear his call to go out and bring Israel and Judah back from their way to certain destruction; who with courage and zeal, patience and love counsel king and people, urge, rebuke, and plead, by word and deed, symbolic action and written messages, in pursuit of their divine commission to save the nation.

These men are the *prophets,* in the newer significance, not merely foretellers of events to come, but forth-tellers of God's purposes in the world: a combination of statesman, reformer, theologian, preacher, and author.

143. **The Prophet Amos.** The first of these prophets is Amos, the shepherd-prophet of Tekoa. He was a native
Amos 7. 10–17 of Judah, but was impelled to carry his message to Israel, where the crisis was more imminent, appearing there about 750 B. C., in the last decade of the reign of Jeroboam. He selected Bethel, one of the northern royal sanctuaries, as the seat of his activity, and boldly announced the downfall of Israel and the end of King Jeroboam. Accused of treachery, he defended himself by asserting that it was Jehovah who had called him to deliver this message; that
Amos 3. 3–8 he was no professional prophet, but had heard Jehovah's call, which he likens to the roar of a lion behind his back, while he was following the flock. On the lonely heights of Tekoa we may imagine this seer contemplating the evil social and religious conditions of Israel in the light of Jehovah's righteousness, until his soul burned within him in holy passion and drove him as a pursuing terror to deliver his message.

144. **The Book of Amos.** It falls into three parts:

1. Chapters 1 and 2: is introductory, and consists of an arraignment of the nations, Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, Moab, Judah, and Israel, and announces their punishment for having violated universally regarded dictates of morality. 2. Chapters 3 to 6: consisting of three discourses, each beginning with an emphatic "Hear ye this word," enlarging on the sins of Israel—its maladministration of justice, oppression of the poor, immorality in the name of religion, self-indulgence and luxury, ingratitude, and stubborn indifference and carelessness. 3. Chapters 7 to 9: consisting of a series of five visions announcing the impending destruction, conceived as coming through a foreign invasion by the Assyrians, though not named (5. 27; 6. 7, 14); and closing with an epilogue, which predicts a restoration, probably a post-exilic enlargement of an original nucleus.

145. **The Message of Amos.** We may summarize the essential teachings of Amos as follows: (1) The God of Israel is Jehovah, the God of hosts, that is, the creator of the universe and the controller of the forces of nature (4. 13; 5. 8; 4. 7-9); (2) Jehovah is the God of universal history, taking an interest in the moral movements of all nations (1. 13-15; 5. 27; 6. 14; 9. 7); (3) the choice of Israel was not for its own sake, but for the sake of its mission to the world (3. 2; 5. 18; 6. 13); (4) religion and morality belong together (2. 8; 4. 4f.; 5. 21-24); (5) Social injustice results ultimately in the ruin of a nation (2. 6; 3. 10; 5. 7, 11f.; 6. 12; 8. 4-6); (6) righteousness will ultimately triumph and Israel be restored (9. 11-15).

It will be observed that Amos gives here expression to great fundamentals of religious truth, toward which we ourselves are still striving. The prophets that follow are much indebted to him for the principles which they reiterate and enlarge upon.

146. **The Elohist Source in the Hexateuch.** As belonging to the Northern Kingdom and to about the time

of the prophet Amos (cir. 750), the Elohist source of the Hexateuch (E) must here receive some notice. The impress that the prophetic collector and editor of the early traditions has given to his material reveals that he shares the conceptions of the newer prophetism. In contrast with J, E's conception of God is no longer anthropomorphic. God no longer appears in form like a man, but reveals himself in visions or dreams, or makes his will known by a voice from heaven. The moral tone is also more elevated, showing itself negatively by the softening down or entire omission of traditional matter having a questionable moral character; but more positively it shows itself in the place he gives to the Decalogue as the basis of Jehovah's covenant with Israel. As the author did not create but only used older material, the reflection is not uniformly clear; nevertheless, we can perceive reflecting from it the more spiritual and ethical monotheism of the eighth century.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Consider the origin and character of the new prophetism.
2. Consider by what means God called Amos to his mission and note the way he describes his call.
3. Mark your Bible so as to bring out the contents and main divisions of the book of Amos.
4. Study carefully the passages embodying the essential teachings of Amos.
5. Read the following selections from E and note what are the characteristic religious conceptions: Gen 20. 1-17; 22. 1-4, 19; 35. 1-8.

7. The End of the Northern Kingdom

The kings of this time were:

Israel		Judah	
Zechariah	6 months		
Shallum	1 month		
Menahem	743-737	Jotham	740-736
Pekahiah	737-736		
Pekah	736-730	Ahaz	736-728
Hoshea	730-722	Hezekiah	727-699

147. The Political Changes after Jeroboam II. It is evident that, as Amos foresaw, Israel possessed not sufficient moral force to prolong its existence, but rapidly hastened, like overripe fruit, to its end. The period that followed the death of Jeroboam was one of unceasing internal broils and bloody revolutions. Jeroboam's son, Zechariah, reigned but six months, and he was publicly assassinated by Shallum, who reigned but one month. He in turn was assassinated by Menahem (743-737), who cruelly beat down all opposition. It appears that an influential party in the state, dissatisfied with Menahem, sought aid from Egypt (Hos 7. 11; 12. 1) to remove him; while he, on his side, took advantage of an invasion of Tiglath Pileser (Pul), king of Assyria (738), to secure aid to retain his throne by paying a tribute of one thousand talents of silver and becoming an Assyrian vassal. The tribute money he secured by taxing his wealthy subjects fifty talents each, making them pay for what they did not want, and by one stroke secured his crown against both his enemies within and without. But this going to Egypt and Assyria cost them dearly, for it embroiled them in the quarrels of the two great empires and led Israel finally to ruin.

2 Kings 15. 8–12

2 Kings 15. 13–22

148. The Prophet Hosea. The second great prophet of the Northern Kingdom was Hosea, a native of the north, for he calls its king "our king" (7. 5). He began his activity as a contemporary of Amos in the time of Jeroboam, but continuing through the troublesome decade that followed. His book falls into two main parts, one of which, chs. 1 to 3, belongs to the earlier period, and the other, chs. 4 to 14, to the latter.

The first part consists of three sections: Chs. 1. 2 to 2. 1, what appears to be the personal history of Hosea; ch. 2. 2-23, a highly elaborate metaphor of the relation of Jehovah to Israel as man and wife; and ch. 3, a symbolic action, apparently a part of Hosea's personal history in which

he restores his unfaithful wife. The two sections containing the personal elements have from earliest time given interpreters great difficulties. The prevailing modern view is that they are semi-historical; conveying the prophet's personal experiences. He learns, it is said, gradually the unfaithfulness of his wife, whom he passionately loves, and whom, after all her erring, he seeks to restore. In these experiences Hosea learns the love of God toward sinful Israel and receives his call to his mission. The present writer has felt compelled to dissent from this current interpretation as no more satisfactory than the allegorical which it displaced. The first section, chs. 1. 2 to 2. 1, is like the title itself, v. 1. 1, an editorial expanding of the elements contained in the other two sections, and is midrash or didactic history. The social and religious conditions of Hosea's times, in which immoral conduct was of common occurrence in religious service (4. 13f.), gave the prophet the figures under which to present Israel's forsaking of Jehovah as an act of adultery, figures both figuratively and literally true.

The second part of the book, chs. 4 to 14, gives a sad picture of decaying Israel: the king and princes are given over to debauch; deceit and intrigue prevail (4. 18; 7. 3-7; 10. 3f.); the priests have no respect for law and are common robbers (4. 6; 6. 9); the rich obtain their wealth by fraud (12. 7f.); perjury, lies, deceit, theft, and adultery are common practices, and life and property are not safe (4. 2, 11; 7. 1); religion does not lack in ceremonialism, but it is saturated with the lewd Canaanite Baalism (8. 4-6; 10. 5; 13. 2; 4. 12-14); it is no wonder that under these conditions Israel's foreign policy is suicidal by playing into the hands of Egypt and Assyria (6. 8-16).

149. The Message of Hosea. Hosea, like Amos, was a preacher of righteousness, declaring that the evil conduct of Israel will receive the punishment of God in the dissolution of the nation (5. 8f. . . . 14; 7. 16; 9. 6f.; 10. 2). He in

like manner insists upon the uselessness of religion without morality, and it was he who first gave utterance to a saying quoted by the Master: *"I desire goodness, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings"* (6. 6; compare Matt 9. 13). Hosea evidently believed that Israel had no business to play a role in international politics; and he repeatedly declares that their attempts in that direction instead of doing right, or going to Jehovah in their need, will prove a failure and their loss (5. 13; 7. 11f.; 8. 8; 12. 1). He repeatedly makes use of the phrase "the knowledge of God" (4. 1, 6; 6. 6; 2. 20; 5. 4), by which he means religious insight, an intelligent, moral, and we may add, experimental appreciation of the nature and purposes of Jehovah. Above all, Hosea is the herald of the love of God. In two splendidly elaborated metaphors he pictures Jehovah as the loving and forgiving husband (2. 2-23) and the patient and solicitous father (11. 1-10). The latter metaphor has suffered much from errors in transcription and in irrelevant editorial glosses.

The following is an attempt at a restoration of its original form, the detailed justification of which cannot be entered upon here.

When Israel was a child, I loved him,
And called him for my son out of Egypt.
And I taught Ephraim to walk;
I took him upon my arms;
But Ephraim did not know me.
I drew him with cords of man (bands of love),
And I was to them a resting-place for their cheeks;[3]
And I laid food before them.
But my people are bent on turning from me;
And him that called them from on high none exalts.
How shall I give thee up, Ephraim?
How cast thee off, Israel?
How can I make thee as Admah?
How can I reduce thee as Zeboim?

[3] Reading in the place of *kimerime 'ol 'al lechehem, kemargoa' lechehem.* Compare Jer. 6. 16, "resting-place."

My heart is turned within me,
My compassion is stirred within me.
I would not execute my fierce anger,
I would not utterly destroy Ephraim—
But I am God, and not man,
The Holy One in thy midst, and not a mortal.

The prophet would fain give Israel an insight into the struggle going on in the heart of Jehovah between his fatherly love for Israel and his divine passion for righteousness. Herein both Amos and Hosea agree that Jehovah loves righteousness more than Israel for Israel's sake; but Hosea brings out more clearly that the triumph of righteousness is a father's discipline for the ultimate benefit of the child.

150. The Prophet Isaiah. Conditions in Judah did not differ much from those in Israel; and they were the occasion of the activity of the prophet Isaiah. The reign of Uzziah resembled that of Jeroboam II, a sudden rise of material prosperity, accompanied by social, moral, and religious evils.

Isaiah dates his call "in the year that King Uzziah died" (6. 1), which was probably 740; and he was still active at the time of Sennacherib's invasion of Palestine, 701; so that his ministry extended through about forty years, or a generation, wherein he displayed a remarkable versatility both of character and effective service. The account of his call, interpreting it as a literary form expressing psychological experiences, gives the causes, motives, purpose, and success of his prophetic mission. They were: (1) the realization of the evil conditions of his time, clearly visible to observation; (2) the recognition of the moral demands of Jehovah, expressed in the term peculiar to Isaiah, the Holiness of Jehovah; (3) a consciousness that he should be an instrument of God to stem the tide of evil and bring about better conditions; and (4) a realization of the difficulty, and, as experience taught, of the practical impos-

Isa 6

sibility of the task of bringing about a permanent reformation until the nation had learned its lesson by exile.

151. The Writings of Isaiah. The book of Isaiah is not chronologically arranged; and it contains material that on its own internal evidence belongs to a later time and other authorship. Omitting such matter, the remainder will be found in chronological order in the following historical treatment.

152. The Syro-Ephraimitic War. The first efforts of Isaiah resemble those of Amos and were similarly directed against the social abuses of his time, with announcements of the judgment to come by an invasion of the Assyrians (Isa 2. 6 to 5; 10. 1-4; 9. 8-21; 5. 26-30; 10. 20-23). But when the crisis of the Syro-Ephraimitic war came upon Judah, Isaiah's efforts took a different turn.

Menahem's experience with Tiglath-Pileser was but a hint of what might be expected of the aggressive policy of this great Assyrian monarch (745-727). The Syrian powers who had felt his strong hand in subjecting them to tribute felt the need of concerted action and entered into an alliance to oppose him. Menahem had the good fortune, rare to kings of Israel, to die a natural death; 2 Kings 15. 23–28
but his son, Pekahiah (737-736), met his death at the hands of a Gileadite band of conspirators, led by Pekah, who usurped the throne (736-733). While Tiglath-Pileser was engaged in war in the east a coalition was formed consisting of Pekah of Israel, Rezin of Damascus, Phœnicia, and an Arabian queen. But some powers of northern Syria and southern Palestine refused to join, and among them Judah. Here Jotham had followed his leper father 2 Kings 15. 32–38
in a short independent reign (740-736); and already in his time the attempt was made to coerce Judah into the coalition, but seemingly the attempt was cut short by his death. Under his successor, however, the youthful and rather weak Ahaz (735-715), Pekah and Rezin joined forces to lay siege to Jerusalem to compel Ahaz to join the alliance

or to depose him and place a certain Tabeel on the throne.

The brief account of Kings is here supplemented by full details in Isaiah and the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser.

Isa 7 Isaiah, who, like Hosea, did not believe that it was Israel's mission to be entangled in international politics, was averse to the alliance. While the people and the king are terrified by the siege, Isaiah is prompted to meet the king and to assure him that there is no reason for fear, but every reason for trust. He offers Ahaz a sign of the truth of his statement, and when Ahaz unbelievingly refuses, Isaiah himself gives the sign of a young woman—she may have been the prophet's or the king's wife—about to bear a child, whose name should be in confidence called Immanuel, "God with us"; for before the child has reached the years

Isa 8 of discretion both Syria and Ephraim will have been made harmless by the king of Assyria. The same message of assurance is conveyed by another child with the symbolic name Maher-shalal-hash-baz, that is, "Hasty-booty-speedy-spoil." Isaiah makes it clear that the Assyrian invasion will bring much suffering to both Judah and Israel, but looks hopefully beyond it to a period of great prosperity under the rule of the ideal king (7. 1 to 9. 7; 11. 1-9; 17. 1-11).

Isaiah, like Hosea, held that if the people would give themselves to do what is right, and not entangle themselves with foreign alliances, Jehovah would stand by them in their political crises. To this effect was his message: Do not get excited when people cry, "A conspiracy—a conspiracy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be in dread. Jehovah of hosts, him shall ye sanctify; and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread" (8. 12f.).

2 Kings 16. 7-9 But he failed in his endeavor to inspire Ahaz with faith in Jehovah. Rezin had seized Elath, the port on the Gulf of Akabah, the source of Judah's wealth, and the enemies were investing Jerusalem. There seemed to him nothing

else to do but to follow Menahem's example and call to Assyria for help; and to make his plea the more effective he sent with his messengers the treasures of the temple and the palace. Ahaz's messengers found the Assyrian king already in Syria on his great western expedition (733-732). He came against Pekah, took away from him all the land of Naphtali, that is, the entire northern part of his kingdom and the east Jordan province, and carried the people captive to Assyria. Pekah himself escaped the Assyrian king only by being murdered in a conspiracy under the leadership of Hoshea, who became king of Israel in his place. Tiglath-Pileser then went against Damascus, slew Rezin, and carried the people away captive.[4] 2 Kings 15. 29–31

Ahaz had thus succeeded in getting rid of his enemies, but at the price of becoming a humble vassal of Assyria; and it was no doubt in order to please Tiglath-Pileser that he visited Damascus, and took from there the pattern of an altar, which displaced that of Solomon in the temple court, and led to other alterations, and at the same time also it led to the introduction of Assyrian religious customs later mentioned as existing in Judah (2 Kings 23. 11f.). 2 Kings 16. 10–20

153. **The Siege of Samaria.** Tiglath-Pileser's subjugation of the Northern Kingdom was the beginning of its end. He left it reduced to a mere province of Samaria, and under heavy tribute, and the humiliating loss must have embittered Israel. But for several years the tribute was paid, and consequently both Israel and Judah were not troubled by their overlord. But the death of the Assyrian king (727) appears to have been the occasion of a general attempt to shake off the domination of Assyria. Egypt, always just as eager to get control of Syria as Assyria, aided the movement by the promise of help. Shalmaneser IV (727-722) found Hoshea at first submissive; but the pro-Egyptian party in Samaria must have grown in strength, leading ultimately to a treaty with Egypt 2 Kings 17. 1–6; 18. 9–12

[4] See the inscriptions in Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to Old Testament, pp. 313ff.

and open rebellion against Assyria. Shalmaneser now came against Samaria and took Hoshea captive, but apparently left the city unharmed.

Judah most probably was also in danger of being drawn into rebellion against Assyria, but that it remained neutral was due to the influence of the prophet Isaiah. For to this period we may with reasonable certainty assign ch. 28. 1-22; in which he, on the one hand, announces Samaria's fall as caused by the drunkenness of its leaders; and, on the other hand, warns Judah by its evil and disastrous example. An illustration of Isaiah's versatility is his imitation of the drunkard's babble, translated in verse 13, which in Hebrew is *zav le-zav, zav le-zav; kav le-kav, kav le-kav; se'er sham, se'er sham.*

154. The Prophet Micah. With the same theme and audience, another prophet of Judah is engaged—Isaiah's younger contemporary, Micah. His home was not Jerusalem, the capital, but a simple village, Moresheth-Gath; but it did not prevent him from seeing the threatening approach of the Assyrians, and interpreting it as a visitation of God upon both Israel and Judah for their social, moral, and religious misdoings. The first three chapters of his prophecy resemble in a marked way the preaching of Amos (chs. 1 to 3); and to Micah we are indebted for one of the finest descriptions of religious obligation, given in answer to the question:

Wherewith shall I come before Jehovah? . . .
He hath showed thee, O man, what is good;
And what doth Jehovah require of thee,
But to do justly, and to love kindness,
And to walk humbly with thy God? (6. 6, 8.)

155. The Fall of Samaria. Shalmaneser laid siege to Samaria, but, on its high hill, it could long withstand him, and it took three years to reduce it. In the meanwhile Shalmaneser died, and Sargon (722-705), who was not

of royal line, yet of such energy as to bring Assyria to the height of its power, continued the siege and captured the city. The success was so near the beginning of Sargon's reign that in biblical accounts it is still considered as in the reign of Shalmaneser. But Sargon's Annals state:

> In the beginning of my reign and in the first year of my reign, . . . Samaria I besieged and took. . . . 27,290 inhabitants I carried away, 50 chariots I collected there as a royal force. . . . I set up again and made more populous than before. People from lands which I had taken I settled there. My men I set over them as governors. Tribute and taxes like the Assyrian I set over them."[5]

The biblical accounts name the places to which Israel was deported as "Halah," which is probably to be identified with the Kassite territory east of the Tigris; "Habor the river of Gozan," which was the chief tributary of the Euphrates, half way between Harran and Nineveh; "and the cities (or mountains) of Media," the far eastern provinces of the Assyrian empire. The captives were thus located in three widely separated districts; probably representing different stages in the deportation extending through a number of years. Separated and thrown helplessly amidst the various population of these regions, and already sharing their social and religious ideas, what was there that should keep the "Ten Tribes" intact? It is most probable, therefore, that they amalgamated with their neighbors and lost their identity; and that the racial restoration of the "Lost Tribes" became in time an insoluble problem.

156. The Origin of the Samaritans. The method of deportation, by which the Assyrians cruelly punished their recalcitrant vassals, involved peopling as well as depeopling conquered territory. A large element of the original population, consisting of the humbler classes, was allowed to remain; but they were augmented by equally insubmissive subjects from various other sections of the Assyrian empire. This welding together of different populations was intended

2 Kings 17. 24–33

[5] See Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, pp. 326f.

to make governmental control easier. In the case of Israel it brought together a mixture of peoples and races that differed most decidedly from the Israelite and Judæan stock, forming what became subsequently known as the Samaritans. The biblical historians note, besides difference of race, that of religion, which was a mixture of Jehovah worship and their own native heathenism. In later times, when the Jews had learned to shun other religions, this difference of religion and race became almost a matter of repugnance; and it showed itself to such an extent that the Jews would have no dealings with the Samaritans.

2 Kings 17. 7–23; 34–41

157. The Contribution of the Northern Kingdom. After a separate existence of about two centuries, the Northern Kingdom, founded by Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, came to an end. The Deuteronomic historian takes occasion to dwell at considerable length upon the worship of other gods as the cause of Israel's downfall. Associated as these religious abuses were with moral and social disorders, they constituted unquestionably the underlying causes of the dissolution of the state; and this religious judgment is thus just. It is never easy to tell what might have happened, but it seems probable that if Israel had developed along the simple and pure principles in politics, society and religion, of its desert life and covenant at Sinai, and had not become corrupted by its contact with Canaanite civilization, it would have been in a better condition to meet the crises of the political turmoil surrounding it.

But while it lasted Israel was the greater and more aggressive of the two kingdoms, both in its good and evil tendencies. Within it the national spirit found a fuller development through the very fact that it had to bear the brunt of hostile attacks; two of the great prophets, who struck the keynote of prophetic preaching, labored in its midst, and as its contribution to biblical literature we must place (1) The Song of Deborah, Judg 5; (2) the stories about Elijah, 1 Kings 17-19; 21; (3) historical

narratives, 1 Kings 20, 22; 2 Kings 3. 6 to 10; (4) the stories about Elisha, 2 Kings 2. 4 to 6; 8; 13; (5) the blessing of Moses, Deut 33; and (6) the Elohistic source (E) in the Hexateuch.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Underscore the names of the kings and insert the dates in your Bible and note the rapid succession of the kings of Israel.

2. Mark your Bible so as to bring out the contents and main divisions of the book of Hosea.

3. Consider carefully the views concerning the so-called personal history of Hosea.

4. Study carefully the passages embodying the essential teachings of Hosea.

5. Compare Hos 11. 1-10 in the textbook with the translation in the Bible.

6. Consider by what means God called Isaiah to his mission and note the description of his call. Does God still call men in like manner or is the difference due to an Oriental manner of description?

7. Read the passages in Kings and the messages of Isaiah relating to the Syro-Ephraimitic crisis and the siege of Samaria and look up the reference to Rogers.

8. Read the book of Micah, with the aid of the headings in your Bible, for the light it throws upon the social and religious conditions of this time.

9. Note well the origin of the Samaritans. Look up the reference to Rogers and on a map the places of deportation.

10. Review the history of the Northern Kingdom and note its contribution to Hebrew history.

CHAPTER X

THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM, 586 B. C.

1. King Hezekiah and the Prophet Isaiah

158. Events in Assyria, Egypt, and Babylonia. The period from the fall of Samaria to the fall of Jerusalem (722-586) sees Assyria reach the height of her power but also her fall; and the rise of the new empire of Babylonia. For about a century Assyria now constantly appears in Palestine and terrorizes Judah, until she herself falls, in 607. Sargon (722-705) appears twice in Palestine after the fall of Samaria—once in 720, when he defeats the Egyptians under Shabaku near Raphia and receives tribute from the Judæans; and the second time when he puts down the revolt of Ashdod and Gath, in 711, and again receives tribute from Judah. Sargon's son Sennacherib (705-681) appears in Palestine in 701, and conquering it from Sidon to Philistia and Ammon and Moab, threatens Jerusalem twice, shutting up Hezekiah "like a caged bird within his city," as he tells in his annals. An attempt to get from under the Assyrian domination by the help of the rising power of Babylonia, which sent its ambassador Merodach Baladan to Hezekiah, fails. During the reign of Esarhaddon (681-668) Egypt is conquered, and Judah remains the humble vassal of Assyria. In the reign of Ashurbanapal (668-625) Egypt has to be reconquered, but again becomes free. In 650 there is a general revolt from Assyria extending from Elam to the Mediterranean, in which Judah joins (2 Chron 33. 10-13), but unsuccessfully.

From now on, however, the power of Assyria begins to fail. Cimmerians and Scythians, wild hordes, invade the empire. Egypt under Pharaoh Necho II, conquers Syria, and slays the Judæan king Josiah in the battle of Megiddo. Beginning with the reign of Nabopolassor (625-605), Babylonia now pushes to the front, throws off the Assyrian yoke, and, aided by the Medians, destroys Nineveh (607). With Nebuchadrezzar (605-561), the greatest king since Hammurabi, ascends the throne of Babylonia. In 605-04 he defeats Pharaoh Necho at Carchemish on the Euphrates, and from that time holds supreme sway over the west, causing the end of the kingdom of Judah.

159. Hezekiah's Reformation. Ahaz, who died 715, was succeeded by his son Hezekiah (715-686), in whom later generations saw nothing but good. By his side stood the prophets Isaiah and Micah; and it was no doubt due to their influence that a religious reformation took place. The biblical accounts of this reformation, particularly those by the Chronicler, are considerably more extensive than we might expect for this time, and they appear to be an anticipation of the reformation under Josiah, of a generation later. But that it involved the destruction of the brazen serpent, called Nehushtan, as a piece of ancient idolatry, and the purification of Jehovah worship by the elimination of Canaanite and other foreign elements, there is every reason for believing; and they account for the good name of Hezekiah.

2 Kings 18. 1–8; 2 Chron 29–31; 32. 27–31

Hezekiah is credited also with some success against the Philistines; and the references to the construction of waterworks in Jerusalem (2 Kings 20. 20; 2 Chron 32, 30; compare Isa 8. 6f.), have received remarkable confirmation in the discovery of what is called the Siloam Inscription, found in 1880 inscribed on a rock in the entrance of the tunnel, and telling of the cutting of the conduit to bring water from Gihon or the Virgin's Fountain, into the city of David. It reads as follows:

(Behold) the piercing through! And this was the manner of the piercing through. Whilst yet (the miners were lifting up) the pick each toward his fellow, and whilst yet there were three cubits to be (cut through, there was heard) the voice of each calling to his fellow for there was a fissure in the rock on the right-hand. . . . And on the day of the piercing through, the miners smote each so as to meet his fellow, pick against pick. And there flowed the water from the source to the pool, 1,200 cubits; and one hundred cubits was the height of the rock over the head of the miners.

160. Isaiah and Sargon's Campaign against Ashdod. Flushed by his success against the Philistines, Hezekiah considered himself strong enough to join a coalition, consisting of Ashdod, Moab and Edom, and Shabaka of Egypt, to throw off the Assyrian yoke. Isaiah strongly advised against Judah's participation in the revolt, going about the streets of Jerusalem barefoot and naked to represent symbolically the captivity the rash action was likely to bring. Hezekiah must have followed the advice of Isaiah, for when Sargon's Tartan marched against Ashdod Jerusalem did not suffer.

Isa 20; 21. 11–17; 15 to 16. 14; 14. 28–32

161. The Babylonian Embassy of Merodach-Baladan. The sickness of Hezekiah and his recovery must have been of more than an ordinary character; for around them have gathered a marvelous story of the sun retracing its steps and a lyric psalm of considerable beauty. It became of political significance by the embassy of Merodach-Baladan, who apparently came to congratulate the king on his recovery. But Isaiah saw in the visit and the reception of the ambassador danger of an entanglement in international politics bound to become ruinous to Judah; and he declared to the king that the treasures the king had shown to indicate his strength would ultimately find their way to Babylonia as booty.

2 Kings 20; Isa 38; 39; 2 Chron 32. 24–26

162. The Pro-Egyptian Policy. Isaiah's warnings, however, fell upon deaf ears. The leaders of Judah liked to play the game of international politics, and the desire to become free from Assyria led to the formation of an anti-

Assyrian or pro-Egyptian party. The book of Kings gives us information on the situation, but Isaiah's utterances furnish the fullest details. He points out the utter folly of relying on Egyptian help; and calls out, "Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help. . . . but look not unto the Holy One of Israel." The prophet is convinced that Jehovah is able and willing to take care of Judah, and that to go elsewhere for help is preferring human to divine aid. When the Ethiopian ambassador came to Jerusalem to assure the people of Egypt assistance on the approach of Sennacherib's army, Isaiah declares to them that Jehovah is well able to take care of his people, and is only waiting for the opportune moment, when he will destroy their enemy, and he further declares that the Ethiopians themselves will have to bring tribute to Mount Zion.

Isa 30–32; 8; 18

The man most responsible for the pro-Egyptian policy was Shebna, Hezekiah's prime minister; and Isaiah does not hesitate to confront him, and predict his dismissal and banishment, and the appointment in his place of Eliakim. The king follows Isaiah's advice; he gives Eliakim the chief place and appoints Shebna as secretary (Isa 36. 3). With the change of officers comes a change of policy. Now Isaiah gives himself to the task of strengthening and encouraging the king and people for the approaching crisis of the Assyrian invasion. The burden of his message now is that Jehovah will defend his people, that Assyria is but his tool, that when he has done with it he will destroy it, and that upon the downfall of Assyria will come the reign of peace, the Messianic age.

Isa 22. 15–25; 10. 5–34; 11f.

163. Sennacherib's Invasion. At last the dreaded foe approached. It was not until 701 that Sennacherib could turn his attention to the rebels in Palestine. He came with a mighty army, and Phœnicia was first to succumb. He then advanced upon Philistia, captured Ashkelon and besieged Ekron, and defeated at Eltekeh, in southern Philistia, an Egyptian or Arabian army that came to its relief, and

captured Ekron. He now turned upon Judah and captured forty-six of its cities, and shut up Hezekiah in Jerusalem "like a bird in a cage." It is of this time that Isaiah's description of Judah's devastation is most appropriate: "Your country is desolate; your cities are burned with fire; . . . and the daughter of Zion is left as a booth in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city" (1. 7ff.).

It appears that the data of the Bible and the Assyrian inscriptions yield a more satisfactory solution of the historical situation when we assume that Sennacherib's army approached Jerusalem twice that year, with an interval between. At the first approach, although all the necessary precautions against an attack had been taken, Hezekiah bought off the Assyrians by paying a heavy tribute. But not long after another detachment of the army demanded nothing short of Jerusalem's absolute surrender. Our biblical sources, which have been preserved in a triple form, transmit the demand couched in most insolent language, aiming to strike a blow at Judah's faith in Jehovah's power to save his people. It is this religious challenge that rouses Isaiah to the highest pitch of a sublime faith. It is now no longer a mere matter of politics, but the issue is Jehovah's character as the protector of Zion, and he dares to assert that in such a crisis Jehovah would accept the challenge and vindicate his character. It is thus that Isaiah comes to announce one of his characteristic conceptions, the inviolability of Zion. In two fiery utterances he boldly declares that Jerusalem laughs at Sennacherib's threatenings; that Jehovah will put his ring through his nose, and bridle between his lips, and make him return the way he came; that he shall not come into Jerusalem, nor shoot an arrow therein, for Jehovah will defend his city to save it for his own.

2 Kings 18. 13–16; 2 Chron 32. 1–8

2 Kings 18. 17 to 19. 37; 20. 20f; Isa 36; 37; 2 Chron 32. 9–23, 32f.

And now the remarkable thing happened: the Assyrian army suddenly removes, without touching Jerusalem. Exactly how it happened can no longer be determined. One

account (2 Kings 19. 9a) suggests that the cause was a rumor of an attack of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia; another suggests the breaking out of a plague in the army (2 Kings 19. 35; Isa 37. 36), and Herodotus transmits a historical tradition according to which field mice gnawed the bowstrings, quivers, and shield thongs, making the army defenseless.[1] But whatever the cause, Jehovah had honored the faith of his prophet, and Jerusalem was saved.

164. **The Character and Achievements of Isaiah.** That Jerusalem and Judæa did not share the fate of Samaria and Israel, but prolonged their existence for over a century and a quarter longer, is in great measure due to the influence of the prophet Isaiah. He was one of the best illustrations of genuine manhood, and filled all the various functions of the prophet's office with the highest distinction. He was a man well born and bred, mingling with ease in the highest and lowest circles of the capital; the consciousness of his mission so filled him as to make him declare that both he and his children were divinely appointed signs for the instruction of Israel (8. 18). His utterances and writings represent the best specimens of Hebrew literature; he was both orator and poet. He was, like Amos and Hosea, a social and religious reformer, fearlessly attacking the social and religious vices of his time, and indissolubly linking ethics and religion. He was a great statesman; whether wanted or not, he assumed the prophetic function of the king's political adviser, and at two great political crises, during the Syro-Ephraimitic war and Sennacherib's invasion, he was the most commanding figure, calm and serene, and with a consistent and safe policy. As a theologian, Isaiah reiterated the essentials of the prophets before him, but in such a way as to add substantially new elements to the religion of Israel: (1) the conception of the majesty and holiness of Jehovah (6. 3; 3. 8; 2. 10; 37. 23), by which he emphasizes his moral character: (2) faith as the means of tran-

[1] See Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, pp. 332–348.

quillity in crucial times (7. 9; 28. 16); (3) the inviolability of Zion (8. 18b; 18. 7b; 28. 16f.; 31. 5); (4) the idea of the "remnant" (7. 3; and compare 10. 20-23), by which he gives form to the hope of the restoration after punishment; (5) the hope of the establishment of the divine kingdom (2. 2-4; 4. 2ff.; 9. 6f.; 11. 1-9; 18. 7; 19. 21, 23f.).

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Consider the effect on Judah of the political world movements going on around it.
2. Compare the accounts of Hezekiah's reformation in Kings and Chronicles and consult the article "Siloam" in the Dictionary of the Bible.
3. Read the messages of Isaiah during Sargon's campaign against Ashdod in their chronological order and mark them in your Bible.
4. Compare the accounts of Hezekiah's sickness in Isaiah, Kings, and Chronicles and note their variations.
5. Read Isaiah's messages against the pro-Egyptian policy in chronological order and mark them in your Bible.
6. Study carefully the passages relating to Sennacherib's invasion and note Isaiah's attitude.
7. Estimate Isaiah's character and achievements and study carefully the passages embodying his contribution to the faith of Israel.

2. The Religious Reaction Under Manasseh and the Law of Deuteronomy

2 Kings 21
2 Chron 33

165. The Character of the Reaction. Upon the death of Hezekiah and Isaiah, during the reigns of Manasseh (698-643) and Amon (643-641), the heathenish religious customs, accompanied by their moral and religious abuses, broke out with renewed fury. The biblical accounts enumerate no less than five varieties of foreign cults that were now flourishing again in Jerusalem: Baal and Astarte worship; stellar worship ("the host," or "the queen of heaven"); various types of spiritism and augury; sacred prostitution (or "Sodomites"); Moloch worship (confer 2 Kings 23. 5-24). The popularity of these cults is attested by the family circles within which they were practiced: the children

gathered the wood, the fathers kindled the fire, and the women kneaded the dough to make cakes for the queen of heaven (Jer. 7. 18; 44. 15-19).

The causes of this reaction it is not difficult to trace. The expectations that Isaiah's prediction had awakened, of the downfall of the Assyrian empire and the establishment of the reign of peace and prosperity under a king of the Davidic dynasty, the ideal Messianic king, had not been realized. Assyria was far from being destroyed, the political condition of Judah remained unchanged, and they had, as before, to pay tribute to Assyria. Assyrian officials were in the land, and they brought with them Assyrian influences which were bound to make themselves felt among the people. The popular opinion was that to the victor belong the spoils, and the Assyrian gods had won; and the people seemed to be content as long as they did not suffer from physical want. Thus an anti-prophetic party arose, with the king at its head, and the prophetic party which was dominant under Hezekiah and Isaiah was not only set aside but even persecuted, for "Manasseh shed innocent blood very much"; and it is not improbable that the Jewish tradition is correct which makes Isaiah suffer martyrdom during the persecutions of Manasseh.

166. **The Problem of the Prophetic Party.** While Isaiah's work was thus ruthlessly undone and heathenism intrenched, the prophetic party was ceaselessly grappling with the problem of idolatry. The prophets were convinced that the foreign cults brought ruin to the nation. They objected to idolatry on three grounds: (1) on political or patriotic grounds, idolatry made Israel like other nations—full of foreign customs, an inferior and subject power, and robbed it of its national distinction based on a mission to the world; (2) on moral and social grounds: idolatry meant licentiousness, immorality, and social injustice; and, (3) on religious grounds, idolatry denied the supremacy of Jehovah, whom they conceived as the only true God.

During this period of persecutions the prophets were quietly at work no doubt, secretly encouraging the faithful, and planning for better times to come.

167. The Law of Deuteronomy. There are good reasons for believing that the result of the activity of this period of stress is contained in the Law of Deuteronomy, which embodies the prophetic teachings of this time and seeks by legal enactments to stem the tide of the foreign cults.

Deut 5 to 26; 28

That this book of the Law really originated at this time appears from the following considerations: 1. It is an enlargement of the book of the Covenant, implying further development and more advanced social conditions. 2. Its views of the monarchy reflect the painful national experiences. 3. The forms of idolatry opposed are those of the Assyrian period. 4. The literary influence of Deuteronomy is absent in the prophetic writers prior to the time of Manasseh and present in those subsequent to it. 5. The literary style of Deuteronomy is highly developed, implying that a considerable period of literary history has preceded. 6. Certain religious practices are condemned in it that were permissible prior to it. 7. The theological teachings show the advanced stages of theological reflection.

168. The Purpose of the Law. Deuteronomy is ritual law to enforce prophetic teaching. Its dominant note may be summarized in the three enactments: 1. The centralization of the cult; all high places become illegal, and there is but one place to which all must go to worship. 2. The total abolition of sacred symbolism by which worship becomes absolutely imageless. 3. The essence of religion is the principle of love toward God and man. The first requirement was a practical measure to destroy idolatry. The high places were sanctuaries whose age made them formidable; they were seats of worship inherited from the Canaanites; and Canaanite and foreign cults flourished there

as on native soil. They could not be reformed or controlled, but they could be abolished; and now that the Jewish state was small, the law of one sanctuary was again practicable. The second requirement had the same practical purpose. The sacred symbols were idolatrous and associated with heathenism. The religion of Jehovah could easily dispense with them; the religion of the desert had no image of Jehovah, and the imageless character of Jehovah worship was in harmony with the spiritual character of the religion of the prophets. The principle of love toward God and man is the climax of Hebrew religion and ethics, not surpassed even, except in its universal application, in the teachings of the New Testament.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Study the passages describing the revival of heathenism under Manasseh and enumerate the varieties of cults.
2. Compare the accounts in Kings and Chronicles concerning Manasseh and note the didactic tone of the latter. Read in the Apocrypha "The Prayer of Manasseh."
3. Read the laws of Deut 12 to 26, with the aid of the headings in your Bible, and mark off the subject-matter.
4. Read Deut 5 to 11 and 28 and note their character as prologue and apologue to the Law Code.
5. Note well the character of the Law of Deuteronomy as serving the purpose of the reforms of the prophetic party.

3. The Reign of Josiah

169. The Prophets Nahum, Zephaniah, and Jeremiah. The period of Josiah (640-608) was fraught with great political as well as religious events. Among the former were the approach of the Scythians, the rise of the Median empire, the independence of Babylonia, the fall of Assyria, and the battle of Megiddo, in which Josiah lost his life; among the latter the finding of the book of the Law and the consequent great religious reformation.

It is a characteristic of Hebrew prophecy that it finds its

occasion in political movements, which the prophets use to arouse the public conscience; and as Amos saw in the approach of the Assyrians the coming of "the day of Jehovah," the day in which Jehovah would, as it were, hold a reckoning with evildoers through a hostile invasion, so the political movement just indicated awakened the prophetic activity of Nahum, Zephaniah, and Jeremiah.

The Book of Nahum

The message of Nahum is the announcement of the downfall of the hated Assyrian power, which was to bring, as the prophet's name, Nahum ("Consolation"), itself symbolized, comfort to Judah (1. 15; 2. 2), on condition, of course, of their turning away from their evil ways.

The Book of Zephaniah

Zephaniah most graphically pictures the dreaded Scythians as coming to a sacrificial feast, prepared by Jehovah himself, whose victims are the people of Judah, including its princes and nobles (1. 7-9), and other nations.

Jer 1 to 6

Jeremiah also, in his earlier discourses which fall within the time prior to the reformation of Josiah, takes occasion in the threatening approach of the Scythians, whom he describes as coming from the north like a lion "gone up from his thicket, and a destroyer of nations" (4. 6f.), to call the nation back to its senses. The conviction which constitutes his call contains two elements—the approaching danger, "a boiling caldron" coming from the north, and Jehovah's share in it in bringing it as a judgment: "Out of the north evil shall break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land. For, lo, I will call all the families of the kingdoms of the north, saith Jehovah, and they shall come, and they shall set every one his throne at the entrance of the gates of Jerusalem, and against all the walls thereof round about, and against all the cities of Judah. And I will utter my judgments against them touching all their wickedness, in that they have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods, and worshiped the works of their own hands" (1. 13-16).

It seems then that the faithful party of the prophets had not lost its enthusiasm for national righteousness during the

reaction of Manasseh and his son. Not only did the prophetic followers retain their own spiritual warmth, but they were alert to seize the opportunity immediately upon the murder of Amon to obtain control of his successor, the young king of eight years. In this manner they exerted their influence for betterment in various directions, and prepared the way for the great reformation.

170. The Finding of the Book of the Law. The account in Kings gives a simple description of the discovery. It was in the eighteenth year of King Josiah (621), while the high-priest Hilkiah was superintending the repairs of the temple, that he found what he called "the book of the law" (or instruction). He handed it to Shaphan the scribe, who read it; and took it to the king, and read it before him. Upon hearing its contents, the king was thrown into great consternation on account of the evident disharmony between the requirements of this law book and the existing conditions. He sent a delegation to Huldah, the prophetess, who evidently represented the highest religious authority of her time, to inquire as to its authoritativeness; and she returned the message that its requirements were binding, and that severe divine punishments would be visited upon the nation if the Law were not observed. 2 Kings 22 2 Chron 34. 1–28

It is now generally agreed among biblical scholars that the book found was the substance of Deuteronomy, and not the entire Pentateuch, and for two reasons: (1) only a book of the smaller size could be read through so easily three times in one day; and (2) its requirements and the subsequent reformation strictly cover each other point for point. Exactly how it was found we are not told, but the circle of prophets from which it emanated had evidently taken steps to have it come into the hands of those who were responsible for the existing abuses; and it proved to be the psychological moment for producing the desired effect.

171. The Great Reformation. The king called a public assembly in the courts of the temple at Jerusalem; the law 2 Kings 23. 1–27; 2 Chron 34. 29 to 35. 19

book was read in their hearing, and they all united in pledging themselves to obey it.

Its requirements were at once put into force: the high-places in and outside of Jerusalem were demolished; the Asherah, the symbolic post or mast standing in front of the altar, was cut down and burned; the teraphim and idols, apparently figures or representations of the divinity, were removed; the emblems of stellar worship, the sun chariot, were taken away; the high-places of the "satyrs" (instead of "gates") were broken; Moloch worship was made to cease; the houses of sacred prostitution, where the women made garments wherein to perform the immoral rites of Astarte, were broken down; the cults of spiritism and augury were done away with; the priests associated with the illegal cults were deposed or made an inferior class in the temple service; the altars of foreign workmanship of Ahaz and Manasseh were broken down; and, finally, best of all, the Passover was kept according to the strict requirements of the newly found Law book, in a way unknown before in Hebrew history. The reformation, described with such detail, was for the time being, evidently thoroughgoing, and it must have produced much religious exultation among the faithful.

172. The Significance of the Deuteronomic Covenant. By means of the formal adoption of the book of the Law as the rule of life for the nation, Israel entered afresh into special relations with Jehovah. It was a revival of the experience of Mosaic times, but intensified by the growth of the ideals during the intervening centuries. As a consequence of the covenant to keep the Law, Israel reawakened to the consciousness of being the "chosen people of God," and as such might expect the special protection of Jehovah (Deut 7. 6; 14. 2; 26. 19; 28. 9f.; compare 1 Pet 2. 9). On the other hand this formal adoption of the law as contained in a book was not without certain dangers, which later history made apparent. Up to this point Israel had

been under the free guidance of the Spirit. She had her laws and customs, but she had her prophets as well who spoke with the living voice. From henceforth her religion became more and more that of a book of laws, until it reached that legalism and literalism which called forth the warning "The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life."

173. The Death of Josiah. And now a great disaster happened. The pious king, faithful and zealous from his youth, and against whom nothing evil could be said, was slain in battle. After the death of Assur-banipal (626 B. C.), Assyria declined, and Josiah was enabled to regain some of the former northern portions of Israel, and, no doubt, aspired to the restoration of the dominion of David. But the king of Egypt, Pharaoh-Necho II, made use of the inactivity of Assyria to invade Syria. Josiah had the daring to oppose this world-power. Probably in the confident assurance, growing out of his faithfulness, that Jehovah would protect him, and in a crisis miraculously help him, he went forth to meet the superior forces of his antagonist. But he was defeated and slain in the battle of Megiddo; and his body brought for burial to Jerusalem.

2 Kings 23. 28–30; 2 Chron 35. 20 to 36. 1

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Read the book of Nahum, marking its subject-matter by means of the headings in your Bible. Note the severe tone and account for it in the light of contemporaneous history.

2. Do the same with the book of Zephaniah.

3. Do the same with Jeremiah 1 to 6.

4. Read the account of the finding of the book of the Law and note the consternation the reading awakened. Find passages in Deut 5 to 26 and 28 that would account for such consternation. Look up the references in your Bible.

5. Compare the contents of the Deuteronomic code with the reformation its reading produced. Use the marginal references to 2 Kings 23. 1-27 and note how many abuses it involved.

6. Estimate the religious value of the Deuteronomic covenant.

7. Read the account of the death of Josiah and account for the daring undertaking of the king.

4. The Prophet Jeremiah and the End of Judah

The kings of this time were:

Jehoahaz	3 months
Jehoiakim	608-597
Jehoiachin	3 months
Zedekiah	597-586

174. The Sources. Eleven years after the death of Josiah, Nebuchadrezzar carried captive to Babylon the first deportation; and eleven years later still Jerusalem was laid in ruins; and during this period of twenty-two years the most prominent figure in the greatest variety of stirring events was the prophet Jeremiah. Fortunately, he has left us in his book full details of what happened, supplementing the meager accounts of the book of Kings.

The book of Jeremiah, like that of Isaiah, is not chronologically arranged; and we must here also skip about for the order of sequence, which is, however, made easier by the fact that many of the prophetic addresses are dated.

Jer 1 to 6

175. The Earlier Life and Activity of Jeremiah. In the superscription of his book, the call of Jeremiah is dated as the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, which would be five years before the great reformation. He must have taken part in the movement, though on account of his comparative youth he did not appear prominently. At that time he probably still resided in his native town, Anathoth, which, however, lay within easy walking distance north of Jerusalem. His father was the priest Hilkiah, but that the latter was the high priest of the same name is doubtful; but coming from a priestly family, he is the first of the type of the later prophets, combining the functions of the two offices. As already indicated, the call to his prophetic mission probably originated in the political movements awakened by the Scythian invasions; for he saw in them the guiding hand of Jehovah, acting in the interest of the moral discipline of

Israel; and he felt impelled to raise his voice with that of Nahum and Zephaniah in a call for reform.

176. The Reign of Jehoiakim. Josiah's legitimate successor was his son Jehoahaz, also called Shallum (Jer 22. 11), and evidently the popular choice. But he was deposed by Pharaoh-Necho, after only a three months' reign, and was carried to Egypt in chains, where he died in exile. The Egyptian king must have suspected his loyalty, and would be more assured of that of his own appointee, Josiah's other son, Eliakim, named upon coronation Jehoiakim. 2 Kings 23. 31–35; 2 Chron 36. 2–4

Jehoiakim, it appears, proved, in fact, a faithful vassal of Egypt, for he paid the heavy tribute, with the exception of an interval of three years, when prevented by the rival Babylonian power, and pursued a friendly Egyptian policy. The taxes must have been a heavy burden upon the poor; and it throws an unfavorable light upon the character of Jehoiakim that he should, under these circumstances, undertake extravagant building operations, for which Jeremiah severely rebukes him (22. 13-19). The king's policy was weak and selfish and worse conditions than under the renegade Manasseh appear again. Josiah's death had dealt a severe blow to the program of reformation by the prophetic party; the disaster brought a reaction in favor of the popular heathen cults; and the king acquiesced. When Jeremiah rebuked the people for their idolatry they complacently replied that when they worshiped other gods they were better off. Their skepticism in Jehovah's righteousness showed itself in the popular proverb, expressing the idea that the children were innocently suffering for evils done by their parents, "the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (Jer 31. 29; 44. 17-19). 2 Kings 23. 36 to 24. 7; 2 Chron 36. 5–8 Jer 11. 9–17

177. Jeremiah's Courage. In the face of personal danger the prophet pursued his mission of a watchman, warning the nation of the evil bound to come; and when opposed and persecuted he became conscious that Jehovah Jer 11. 18 to 12. 6; 7. 1 to 8. 3; 26. 7–24

had set him like "a fortified city, and an iron pillar, and brazen walls against the whole land" (1. 18f.). The men of his native Anathoth conspired to kill him; and in consequence of an address that Jeremiah had made in the temple court, to the effect that the temple would not save them from destruction, unless they lived righteous lives, he again just escaped being executed, while another prophet, who had expressed similar sentiment, was actually put to death
Jer 36 by order of the king. The utter disregard with which Jehoiakim treated Jeremiah's warnings is seen by the manner in which the king cut to pieces and burned the written discourses of the prophet.

178. **The Rise of Babylonia.** In 625 Nabopolassar, the prince of the Chaldeans, took possession of Babylon, and, together with Cyaxares, king of Media, he captured Nineveh in 606. In the division of the spoil Mesopotamia and Syria fell to the ruler of Babylon. Pharaoh-Necho's successes in Syria had been due to the inactivity of Assyria. But when Nebuchadrezzar ascended the throne of his father Nabopolassar, he met the Egyptian king and defeated him in the battle of Carchemish (605); becoming the dominant factor in Palestinian politics, and one with which Judah had now to reckon.

Hab 1–2 179. **The Prophet Habakkuk.** But Judah gained nothing by the change of masters. The Babylonians were haughty, violent, and destructive. Their rise into a world-power meant no good to anyone, and least of all to Judah. Why should Jehovah, asks Habakkuk, in his short prophetic book, allow these arrogant conquerors to prevail? The answer is that Jehovah has his purpose in the rise of this new power. In due time the Babylonian empire will perish as it has made others to perish. But in the crisis the Babylonian invasion brings the righteous shall be safe in their
Hab 3 faithfulness (2. 2-4). The book closes with a beautiful lyric ode, a pæan of faith, which appears to belong to a later age.

180. The First Deportation to Babylon. In the later years of Jehoiakim's reign Nebuchadrezzar had made Judah pay tribute for three years. Then the Hebrew king was tempted to revert to his Egyptian master, and finally rebelled. Nebuchadrezzar punished the rebel at first by stirring up against him attacks by his hostile neighbors (2 Kings 24. 1f.); but upon the death of Jehoiakim and the accession of his young son Jehoiachin, Nebuchadrezzar laid siege to Jerusalem, captured it, and carried captive to Babylon not only the king, the royal household, and nobles, but also seven thousand of the artisan class. He placed over what was left of the nation Mattaniah, a third son of Josiah, who took upon his accession to the throne the name of Zedekiah.

2 Kings 24. 8–17; 2 Chron 36. 9f.

Jer 22. 24–30

Jeremiah, who watched carefully the political horizon, saw the coming of the Babylonian storm. He endeavored to awaken the people to a sense of the danger and God's judgment, but he found them morally insensible, "saying, Peace, peace, when there is no peace." He recognized in Nebuchadrezzar Jehovah's servant appointed to execute his judgment, warned the king against alliance with Egypt, and announced the latter's defeat. In various ways he reiterated his messages of warning, in forms of dialogue, personal laments, and symbolic actions; but all in vain.

Jer 8. 4 to 9. 22; 10. 17–25

Jer 46. 2–12; 25

Jer 14 to 17. 13; 13. 1–14; 18 to 20; 35

181. Zedekiah's Reign and Rebellion. The last king on David's throne showed himself a weakling, and he lost his crown and brought the nation to its end by his lack of moral fiber and vacillating policy. The first deportation had carried away the most energetic element; what was left was self-seeking and void of genuine patriotism. Those who remained still indulged in the vain hope of the downfall of Babylonia, which might bring them independence, and which was encouraged by Egypt, where now a new and energetic ruler, Hophra, had arisen. The question was whether to submit to Babylonia or join Egypt and other Syrian powers and resist.

2 Kings 24. 18 to 25. 2; Jer 52. 1–5; 2 Chron 36. 11–16

The attitude of Jeremiah was pro-Babylonian, that is, that of submission to Babylonia. He saw the uselessness of trying to escape from the inevitable. On the other side was the pro-Egyptian party, supported by the nobles and the false prophets; and the king inclined first to follow one and then the other.

Jer 12. 7–17; 13. 15–27

When the first deportation is led away Jeremiah raises a dirge over fallen Judah, warns Judah's neighbors of a like fate, and warns the remainder to repent. Under the form of a vision of two baskets of figs he compares the Babylonian captives to good and the Judæan remainder to bad figs, showing his estimate of their respective character and his hope for both of them. He writes a letter to the exiles, urging them to settle down quietly until Jehovah brings them back; and not to be misled, like their Judæan brethren, by the false prophets who promise a speedy change of conditions.

Jer 29

Jer 27; 28; 23

182. Jeremiah's Contest with the Pro-Egyptian Party. When foreign ambassadors appear in Jerusalem to urge Judah to join a coalition against Babylonia, Jeremiah enters into a personal contest with Hananiah, the leader of the pro-Egyptian party, representing the false prophets. Making a set of five yokes, he sends them to the kings who seek to rebel against Babylonia, with the advice: "Bring your necks under the yoke of the king of Babylonia, and serve him and his people, and live"; and when Hananiah takes the symbolic yoke and breaks it, to signify that Nebuchadrezzar's yoke will soon be broken, Jeremiah substitutes a yoke of iron for the yoke of wood, to signify the hopelessness of the mad endeavor, and arraigns Judah's false leaders.

Ezek 1 to 3. 21

183. The Prophet Ezekiel. Among the people carried to Babylonia in 597 was Ezekiel; and it appears that five years after the settlement of the exile community at Tel-abib, by the canal Chebar, which ran from the city of Babylon eastward to Nippur, he received his divine call to his prophetic mission. The account of his experience is the

most elaborate in the Old Testament, highly figurative and largely influenced by the sculpture of composite creatures of his Babylonian environment.

He seems quite familiar with the conditions in Jerusalem, its idolatry and moral degradation, and, like Jeremiah, denounces them, and in the most graphic manner foretells the utter destruction of the nation. His messages bear the stamp of literary effort, for he lived at a distance from his audience; they must have been conveyed in written form, and repay detailed study. Ezek 3. 22 to 16 63; 17 to 24

184. The Siege of Jerusalem. But in spite of all warnings, the fatal step of rebellion was taken by the king. Nebuchadrezzar, who had his headquarters at Riblah on the upper Orontes, sent his army to lay siege to Jerusalem. The city was well fortified, and was capable of resisting a year and a half.

At the beginning of the siege Zedekiah sent messages to Jeremiah to inquire the outcome of the attack; the prophet unhesitatingly advised surrender: "He that abideth in the city shall die. . . . he that goeth out to the Chaldeans that besiege you, shall live." The Babylonians were compelled to raise the siege long enough to engage an Egyptian army that had come to the relief of Jerusalem. Jer 21. 1–10; 34

While the siege was still on, the Hebrew slaves had been released as an act of repentance, but during the interval of relief repentance was thrown to the winds; the king and nobles forgot their sacred promises and forced their former slaves again into illegal bondage. Jeremiah denounces this perfidy, and declares that its punishment will be the captivity of the king and his nobles, and the destruction of Jerusalem and Judah. During the same interval Jeremiah left Jerusalem to go to his native Anathoth. He was suspected of following his own advice in going over to the Chaldeans, and consequently was arrested and imprisoned. His enemies suggested that, as he disaffected the minds of the people, he should be executed, and he was thrown into Jer 37; 38

a miry cistern, and transferred from there into more wholesome prison quarters only by the intercession of a foreigner. Here the weak king visited him to have a private interview with him, Jeremiah persisting in his advice of surrender to the king of Babylon.

2 Kings 25. 3–21; Jer 38. 28 to 39. 10; 52. 6–30; 2 Chron 36. 17–12

185. The Capture of the King and the Destruction of Jerusalem. At last a breach in the walls of the city was made, and the conquering army poured in. The king fled, but was overtaken near Jericho and carried to Nebuchadrezzar at Riblah. There the king's sons were slain before his eyes, and then his eyes put out, and he in blindness and chains was carried off into exile to Babylonia.

A month later Jerusalem with its temple, palaces, and houses, was burned, and the walls of the city broken down. The vessels of the temple were carried off as booty, and the people sent into exile.

2 Kings 25. 22–26; Jer 40. 7 to 41. 18

186. The Murder of Gedaliah. Gedaliah, one of the better type of men, and a friend of Jeremiah, was placed as governor over the few "poorest of the land," taking up his residence in Mizpeh. The people gave themselves to gathering in the fruit harvest, and all seemed going well. Then the king of the Ammonites instigated a conspiracy, headed by Ishmael, one of the royal seed, which led to the treacherous murder of the new governor and of many of his adherents, among them some Babylonians. The remainder, fearing the vengeance of the king of Babylon, fled into Egypt, carrying with them Jeremiah, who had been liberated by the command of Nebuchadrezzar and had joined Gedaliah. Jeremiah strongly disapproved of the attempt to find refuge in Egypt, but his protests were in vain; he himself was carried there by force, and Jewish tradition says that he died a martyr's death in Egypt at the hands of his own countrymen.

Jer 39. 11 to 40 6

187. The Character and Message of Jeremiah. To Jeremiah must be accorded the title of the greatest prophet of Old Testament history for both his personal character

and the advance he gave to religious and moral truth. Like his prophetic predecessors, he proclaims Jehovah's righteousness and love, an exalted ethical monotheism; like them, he insists on social justice and purity; like them, he also repudiates Israel's mission to play a role in international politics, and announces Israel's downfall as due to a divine visitation on account of religious and moral delinquencies, to be averted only on genuine repentance.

But Jeremiah advances beyond his predecessors in his broadening conception of God and of the nature of religion. His monotheism becomes clearer and more pronounced by two new ideas: (1) that the gods of other nations are vanities or nonentities, that is, they have no real existence; and there exists only one true God, even Jehovah (10. 8ff.; 14. 22); and (2) that other nations will ultimately come to learn and acknowledge Jehovah as their own God (3. 17; 4. 2; 16. 19). These ideas make the Old Testament conception of God universal and lay the foundations of a missionary religion.

Similar was the broadening or, rather, deepening of Jeremiah's conception of religion. There are three elements which he adds, tending to spiritualize religion: (1) man's individual and personal moral responsibility (31. 29f.); (2) religion can dispense better with the temple and ceremonialism than with an ethical life; in other words, he does no longer deem the inviolability of the temple or Zion an essential element of religious or national existence (7. 1-15; ch. 26); and (3) religious obligations become a matter of conscience and inner promptings, or the law is written upon the heart (31. 31-34).

There must now be added to the expression of these vital truths the long unwearied life of the prophet, who for forty years, with patience and tenderness, by precept and example, endeavored to make them realized; and who through his sufferings and martyrdom became the prototype of the Man of Sorrows and acquainted with grief.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Underscore the names of the kings and insert the dates in your Bible.

2. Consider by what means God called Jeremiah to his mission and note the character of his early environment.

3. Read the messages of Jeremiah in their chronological order and mark them so in your Bible.

4. Note well the political changes in Egypt and Babylonia and their effect on Judah.

5. Read the book of Habakkuk and mark it by means of the headings in your Bible.

6. Read the passages relating to the first deportation to Babylon and note whom it included.

7. Read the passages relating to Zedekiah's reign and the party strife and note Jeremiah's attitude and his manner of enforcing it.

8. Consider how God called Ezekiel to his mission and note the highly figurative description. Examine the composite creatures in Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, plates 8 and 30.

9. Read the messages of Ezekiel with the use of the headings.

10. Read the passages relating to the siege and fall of Jerusalem and the murder of Gedaliah.

11. Estimate the value of the character and achievements of Jeremiah.

CHAPTER XI

THE EXILE

1. The Centers of the Exiles

188. The Exile as a Transition. With the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B. C., and the scattering of the Hebrew people, the national existence of the Hebrews comes to an end. The kingdom founded by David, after about four centuries of existence, has fallen to pieces; and when it is revived, it is no longer a nation, but merely a religious community, a church. The exile divides Old Testament history into *Hebrew* and *Jewish* history, and brings us from the Period of the Prophets to the Period of the Priests.

But the transition was gradual; and it is not possible to draw the line of division with precision. The prophet Ezekiel illustrates in his own person the double character of this period—he is both prophet and priest. The prophetic activity continued for some time, not only in Ezekiel, but in the so-called Great Prophet of the Exile (Isa 40 to 66) and in the manner in which the ideas of the prophets were incorporated in the historical and prophetical literature of the preexilic period, when they passed through their redaction during the exile.

189. Fallen Judah and Its Neighbors. The dispersion of the people on the destruction of Jerusalem resulted in their settlement in three centers—Babylonia, Egypt, and Palestine. Ezekiel (33. 24) speaks of "many" still inhabiting the "waste places in the land of Israel"; and it would seem that the deportations affected mainly the urban population, while the rural element, being less troublesome, was

left to itself by Nebuchadrezzar. This rural population must soon have rallied, and, augmented by others who returned from their flight when the danger was over, formed a considerable community.

The terror of the siege of Jerusalem and the devastation of the country, and the interest with which these were watched and rejoiced over by Judah's hostile neighbors, may be seen reflected in passages of the book of Lamentations, the book of Obadiah, and Ezekiel's prophecies against the foreign nations, passages which furnish glimpses of the deplorable condition of those who had remained in the land.

Book of Lamentations

There exists probably no more pathetic elegy in any language than that in which the Hebrew poet bemoans the fall of his native capital. Reproducing the opening verse in the peculiar meter of the Hebrew dirge, it reads:

> How sits so lonely the city—once populous;
> A widow has she become—the queen of peoples;
> The princess among princes—is a slave.

In similar strains the poet describes the utter desolation of his fair native land and the malicious joy of Israel's enemies (2. 6-10, 15f.).

Obadiah

In the brief prophecy of Obadiah the theme is Edom's participation in the slaughter and spoil of Judah, for which

Ezek 25 to 32

it is to meet a like fate. In like manner, Ezekiel passes in review Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Philistia, announcing that their joy over the fall of Judah will result in their own downfall by the very same political power, and that Phœnicia and Egypt also will fall the prey of Nebuchadrezzar, who is but carrying out Jehovah's purpose, with the ultimate result of Israel's restoration.

It is no wonder, then, that under these adverse conditions the weak Judæan community failed to thrive; surrounded by enemies, who wished it evil and harassed it, it merely

Ezek 33. 23–29

eked out an existence and remained puny and weak. The religious and moral conditions of the community were no

less deplorable. Ezekiel paints a dark picture of the immoral and irreligious acts openly practiced, adding moral to material ruin.

190. The Exiles in Egypt. The material conditions of the exiles in Egypt were more favorable. Here they were among allies, who shared their fear and hatred for Nebuchadrezzar. Egypt had from patriarchal times served as a refuge of needy Israelites, and it was within easy reach. Not only after the destruction of Jerusalem but even earlier (Jer 24. 8b.) many of the race had settled in Egypt, and they constituted probably a large proportion of it. Their settlement was at Taphanes (Jer 43. 8), the Greek Daphnæ, and the modern Defenneh, on the extremest eastern border, and at the otherwise unknown Migdol. Herodotus's description of Daphnæ as well as its recent excavations, reveal that it was of considerable importance, containing a royal residence and serving as the meeting place of the merchants of many nations. It appears that the Israelites freely mingled in the varied life of this country and prospered. But its effect upon their religion was not beneficial, for they assiduously followed heathen customs and particularly the cult of "the queen of heaven," which accounts for Jeremiah's objection to the residence in Egypt. Jer 42 to 44

Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel also mention settlements at Memphis and the country at Pathros, by which is meant upper Egypt. Aramaic legal documents written on papyrus and dated between the years 471 and 411 B. C., which have recently been discovered at Elephantine, an island of the Nile, opposite Assuan, have thrown a most interesting light upon the Jewish life in Egypt during this period. They tell of transfers of property, contracts, and other legal matters; of law courts, traders, and bankers, and of Jewish marriages among themselves and with foreigners who became Jews; and it appears from all this that the Jewish community at Elephantine was large and wealthy.

But more remarkable still is the information which an

Aramaic letter, also recently discovered here, and dated in the year 408 B. C., brings concerning a Jewish temple at Elephantine, already in existence in the reign of Cambyses (529-522 B. C.). It was a temple built to the God Yahu (Jehovah), of hewn stones, with pillars of stone in front, with seven gates of hewn stone, provided with doors, and with its roof covered with Lebanon cedar wood. It possessed all the utensils and equipment for the various sacrifices; and mentions the fact that on its altar were regularly offered cereal offerings, burnt-offerings, and frankincense, in the name of the God Yahu.

It thus appears from this rather remarkable find that the Jews of Egypt were not entirely given over to heathenism, but had, as has been long known, not only a temple at Leontopolis, in the Delta, during the Greek period, but another and earlier one, within a generation of the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B. C., in upper Egypt, where they endeavored, although exiled from their home, to practice their religious customs, and keep alive their religious faith.

191. The Exiles in Babylonia. But by far the larger number of the exiles settled in Babylonia, where they passed through a development that had the most far-reaching influence upon their subsequent life and religion. Hither they had been deported by Nebuchadrezzar at three different times—in 597, in 586, and after the murder of Gedaliah. But the exiles at Chebar were "captive" only in a relative sense, for it is evident from references in the prophecy of Ezekiel that, although in a foreign land, they were allowed considerable freedom of movement and constituted a community of their own, in which their government by "elders" continued to exist. They were most probably employed in many of the building projects of Nebuchadrezzar, practiced agriculture, and engaged in commerce,

Jer 29. 1–14

and as long as they paid their taxes, were allowed to live in peace. Jeremiah's advice had been that the captives

settle down to a peaceful life in expectation that it would continue for a long time.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Consider the importance of the exile and note the transition from the prophetic to the priestly ideals in the development of Hebrew religion.
2. Read the book of Lamentation with the aid of the headings.
3. Read in the same manner for the light on the conditions of the exiles the messages of Obadiah and Ezekiel.
4. Read Jer 42 to 44 and consider the conditions of the exiles in Egypt. Locate their settlements on the map.
5. Consider the conditions of the exiles in Babylon and note the expectation in the passage in Jeremiah.

2. The Prophet Ezekiel

192. Ezekiel's Activity Among the Exiles. The destruction of Jerusalem was a turning point in the work of Ezekiel. Before the catastrophe he was a stern denunciator of the evils which were hastening the downfall of the nation, and his efforts were directed, if possible, to avert the impending doom; but when the end had come he gave himself, as a true pastor, to the task of encouraging and helping his people, lest the moral and religious ruin become irreparable. To this second part of Ezekiel's ministry belong the messages of consolation, consisting of promises of the coming restoration, including a most comprehensive plan of the restored state.

Ezekiel feels his responsibility to act as the watchman over the fortunes of his people, and to warn them of the just consequences of their acts. In the future Israel is to have more faithful rulers. When Israel is restored Edom will suffer for its malice, Judah will again be fertile and populous, the nation will live again, like the vivified dried bones scattered over a valley, and in their union and restoration Jehovah will be glorified. **Ezek 33 to 39**

The plan of the restored state Ezekiel conveys, as many of his messages, in the graphic form of a vision. It in- **Ezek 40 to 48**

cludes a most elaborate description of the new sanctuary on Mount Zion, with the restored presence of the glory of Jehovah; it deals with the functions of the priests, Levites and princes, regulations concerning offerings, and the allotment of the land.

193. The Character and Message of Ezekiel. Ezekiel has been termed the "most interesting" of all of the Old Testament prophets. He evidently was a man of broad culture; and he possessed the ability to assimilate the best elements of his foreign Babylonian environment, without allowing it to dominate him, but, rather, turning it into the service of the religion of Jehovah. Symbolism and visions as literary means of conveying moral and religious truth reach in him the highest point of development; and some of his imagery, as the thrice repeated theophany of Jehovah's glory (ch. 1; 10; 43. 1-3), show plainly the influence of Babylonian sculpture.

The breadth of his character is seen in that he was both prophet and priest; and not merely half-prophet and half-priest, but both in fullest strength. As prophet, Ezekiel reiterates the essential ideas of his predecessors regarding social justice, morality, and spiritual religion, although the latter is somewhat less marked through his interest in ceremonialism (22. 6-12; 33. 15; ch. 7). Like Hosea, he represents Israel as the unfaithful wife of Jehovah, but carries the simile further in that he considers the unfaithfulness to have begun already before the marriage in Egypt and to be irreparable (ch. 16; 23). Like Jeremiah, he attacks the common error of the inviolability of Zion, and adds the striking picture of Jehovah's abandonment of Jerusalem, his dwelling place (10. 18f). In like manner he follows Jeremiah in asserting the moral responsibility of the individual, but works it out with fuller detail, and at the same time formulates with similar detail one of the most essential biblical doctrines, that of repentance and forgiveness (14. 12-23; 18; 33).

But Ezekiel is also essentially priest; and his Messianic expectation takes the form of the restoration of Israel under a theocratic government in which a hierarchy, and not a monarchy, is in supremacy, and for which he contributes a new national constitution. The center of the new order is not the royal palace but the temple, whose functionaries are divided into two classes—Priests and Levites; and instead of one court inclosing the sanctuary there are now two; and within the second the layman is not allowed to enter. With the emphasis upon ritual holiness Jehovah becomes less approachable; and the way is opened for the transcendental conception of Jehovah.

Ezekiel, it thus appears, pushes one step further the movement to embody prophetic ideas in a ritual form begun with the Deuteronomic law and aided by Jeremiah. It will appear subsequently that the attempt to mingle the two was not in the line of true progress: it was a compromise. Ezekiel's interest in ceremonialism developed into legalism; and he has not unjustly been called the father of Judaism.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Read Ezek 33 to 39 with the aid of the headings and note the character of Ezekiel's messages.

2. Read Ezek 40-48 with the aid of the headings and consider the place ritual has in Ezekiel's plan of the restored community.

3. Estimate the character and message of Ezekiel and consider his place in the history of divine revelation.

3. The Literature of the Exile

194. The Literary Activity of the Exile. There appears to be good ground for holding that the period of the exile was characterized by a literary activity of considerable extent. It was a period of meditation induced by the affliction that had befallen the race in the loss of its national life. The thoughtful members of the exiled community must have felt the necessity of collecting the literary products and putting them into such form as to preserve them

for future generations; and its effect may be traced in three types of biblical literature—the historical, the prophetic, and the legal.

The literary interest of the exiles is manifest in the form it gave to the historical portions of the Old Testament, comprising Genesis to Kings. The combination of the two histories, J and E, had been effected before the exile; and the book of Judges also already existed as a whole. But the unifying plan which is traceable in this historical work was the contribution of redactors who felt it their duty to collect, arrange, and present it from the new point of view obtained by the painful experience of Israel's downfall. As already pointed out (Section 7. 4; 73f.), when Israel's history was surveyed from the point of view of the exile, the outstanding cause of its national calamity was seen to have been its contamination with the social and religious vices of Canaanite heathenism. The Deuteronomic law had given this heathen influence its death blow; the events of history had confirmed the assertions of the prophets that Jehovah's righteousness and Israel's discipline required the nation's doom, and the events of the past were subjected to an estimate on the basis of the Deuteronomic principles. This redaction is known as the Deuteronomistic. To it we must ascribe the opening and closing chapters within which the Deuteronomic code of laws (12-26; 28) is embodied. In the earlier books of the Hexateuch but few traces of the redaction are found. The first part of the book of Joshua, containing the national view of the conquest of Canaan, is strongly Deuteronomistic; and so is the framework of the book of Judges with its recurring backsliding and repentance. The books of Samuel, again, show but little of this influence; yet the antagonistic attitude toward the kingship is probably from this source. In Kings the synchronistic arrangement, estimate of the kings, and the homilies on Israel's apostasy, found at different points, belong to this redaction. By

means of these characteristic additions and the general form that the earlier material thus received, the faithful exiles endeavored to enforce the teachings of the prophets by lessons drawn from Hebrew history; and the success of their pious endeavor may be seen in the fact that the chief lessons for religious instruction are still derived from their contributions to Old Testament history.

195. The Prophetic Literature. The story of the writing down of Jeremiah's prophecies, their destruction, and the rewriting and collection of them by Baruch, the scribe (Jer 36), furnishes an instructive illustration of the literary history of prophetic literature. The earlier prophets, like Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, were primarily speakers, and the writing of their utterances was evidently, as with Jeremiah, only an afterthought. How much the prophet himself wrote of his message it is now no longer possible to determine. It is probable that the prophets' faithful disciples often wrote down the public discourses of their teachers. From the detached and very fragmentary remains of the sayings we may conclude that they were mere notes of the sermons spoken at different occasions, and collected without reference to their logical or chronological sequence. The prophecies of Ezekiel are, however, in most striking contrast, well arranged: they were probably edited by the prophet himself, and reflect the literary tendency of the period of the exile. It seems quite probable, therefore, that the literary activity of this period busied itself with the collecting and editing of the prophetic material, and that to it belongs the dating as well as some of the passages which betray a later point of view. Thus during the exile the first editorial step was taken in the process which ultimately gave our prophetic literature its present form.

196. The Law of Holiness. Of the same character as Ezekiel's priestly plan of organization is the legislation contained in the so-called Law of Holiness, and it has been Lev 17 to 26

supposed that Ezekiel himself was its author. As compared with the Deuteronomic law, which is the product of the prophets and popular, the latter is priestly; and on the whole is a later and more advanced step in the growth of the ritual. But that it still belongs within the prophetic period is evident from two considerations. Many of the laws possess an archaic character, and some of them may even be as old as the time of Moses; they had probably been in force in priestly circles for centuries, and were handed down orally; but they now receive their codification, and they represent the literary activity of the exiles in transmitting earlier material.

But what gives them a special character is that underlying them is a highly ethical and humanitarian motive. Israel is to be holy, because Jehovah their God is holy. But the holiness, though ritual, has for its purpose social and moral purity. Among its laws are: not to steal, nor to deal falsely, nor to lie one to another; not to oppress a neighbor, nor rob him; not to hold back the wages of a hired servant; not to curse the deaf, nor put an obstacle before the blind; not to favor in judgment the poor nor the mighty, but to judge in righteousness; not to go up and down as talebearer; not to hate a brother, nor to bear him a grudge; and to cap the climax, it adds the second part of the two commandments on which hang all the law and the prophets, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Lev 19. 11-18).

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Consider the causes of the literary activity during the exile.

2. Read the following selections as illustrating the Deuteronomic redaction of the historical books: Deut 5 to 11; 28; Josh 1; 23; Judg 2. 6-19; 1 Sam 12; 1 Kings 8. 14 to 9. 9; 14. 1-20; 2 Kings 17. 7-23; 22. 11 to 23. 3; 24. 1-4.

3. Read Jer 36 for the light it throws upon the writing and editing of the prophetic literature, and compare the opening verses of the books of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.

4. Examine the content of the Law of Holiness with the aid of the headings, and compare its contents with the Book of the Covenant and the Deuteronomic Code.

4. The Great Prophet of the Exile

197. The Later Years of the Exile. As the exile continued to lengthen out, the material condition of the exiles deteriorated, the Babylonian yoke became more oppressive, the longing for the return increased; but as Babylonia continued in its wanton power the exiles failed to see any ray of hope, and discouragement with its depressing effect settled heavily upon them. The friendly feeling toward Babylonia changed into hatred and hope of its destruction. This is the sentiment expressed in the so-called Song of Moses, which reflects the thought and feelings of this period. Israel's humbled condition is due to their forsaking Jehovah and sacrificing unto demons; but the day of vengeance on their oppressors is at hand, and "he will make expiation for his land, for his people." Deut 32. 1–43

198. The Rise of Cyrus. Political conditions were gradually assuming a form that presaged to the far-seeing Hebrew patriots a hope for a change that would bring them relief. The change began about the middle of the sixth century. With the death of Nebuchadrezzar (561) Babylonia entered on its decline. Evil Merodach (Amil-Marduk) reigned but two years, and he was murdered by his brother-in-law Neriglissar (Nirgal-sharu-uzur), who had been a general in the army that besieged Jerusalem (Jer 39. 3). His reign lasted only four years, and his infant son's only nine months, when he had to yield his throne to his rival Nabonidus (555-538). The first part of the latter's reign was peaceful, but he soon was drawn into the political movements going on about him. In 558 Cyrus became king of Persia and Elam; in the year 550 he had succeeded in making himself master of Media. In 546 he had defeated Crœsus and captured Sardis, and in

the following years Asia Minor and the Greek coast-lands had yielded to him. He was now ready to throw himself upon Babylon. In 538, apparently while Belshazzar, Nebuchadrezzar's son, was in charge of the city, the inhabitants opened the gates to the army of the conqueror, and Cyrus became its king without striking a blow. This is the manner in which he himself records his entry into Babylon: "I am Cyrus, king of the world, the great king, the powerful king, king of Babylon. . . . When I made my triumphal entrance into Babylon, with joy and rejoicing I took up my lordly residence in the royal palace, Marduk, the great lord, moved the noble hearts of the inhabitants of Babylon, to me, while I gave daily care to his worship. My numerous troops marched peacefully into Babylon. . . ."[1]

199. Prophecies on the Downfall of Babylon. The exiles, who were no doubt watching these political movements, saw in them the coming vengeance on their oppressors; and some of the shorter prophecies, now incorporated in the earlier parts of Isaiah, reflect this historical background, and give expression to the sentiment of the exiles on the overthrow of Babylon. One of these prophecies describes Elam and Media coming like a storm upon Babylonia, as the result of which the watchman announces: "Fallen, fallen is Babylon." Another prophecy pictures Jehovah stirring up the Medes to execute vengeance upon Babylon, and gloriously exults in a magnificent ode of triumph over fallen Babylon. A third prophecy, now incorporated in the book of Jeremiah, similarly describes the approaching doom of Babylon and the relief it is to bring to captive Israel. The appropriateness with which these prophecies apply to the historical background of these later years of the exile is the best justification for their being regarded as having originated in this period.

Isa 21. 1–10

Isa 13. 2 to 14. 23

Jer 50. 2 to 51. 58

200. The Great Prophet of the Exile. In even a more

[1] Cylinder of Cyrus, lines 20–24; Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, p. 382.

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

remarkable manner do the prophecies contained in Isa 40 to 55 fit the conditions of the closing years of the exile. Isa 40 to 55
This collection of prophecies is a comprehensive message of comfort and encouragement to the exiled people of Jehovah, consisting of the announcement of its speedy release. The keynote of the entire message is struck in the opening words: "Comfort ye, my people, and say to them that the time of their distress is passed." If in their discouragement and hopelessness they think that it is vain to look for their restoration, they are to be told that Jehovah with almighty power stands back of his gracious purpose, and will allow none to frustrate it. He has chosen his instrument to carry out his purpose, even Cyrus (41. 2f.; 45. 1ff.; 46. 11), whom Jehovah has called and anointed, and whom he loves (48. 14), and to whom he gives the victory over Babylon, that he may set free Israel and build Jerusalem and the temple (44. 28; 45. 13). Israel, therefore, need no longer despair; Jehovah their God, the creator and preserver of the universe, the God of history and prophecy, will not permit his word of promise to return to him unfulfilled (55. 11); he has chosen and loves Israel and will never forsake it (40. 27-31; 41. 8-16). Israel is Jehovah's servant, chosen to bring light to the Gentiles (42. 1-7); and his sufferings will ultimately be the means of bringing salvation to the world (52. 13 to 53. 12).

The trend of the thought of this message is in itself the best indication as to its origin. Not the Isaiah of the time of Hezekiah would thus speak, but one who himself was a witness of the change of the historical conditions: the Chaldeans in power; Jerusalem in ruins; Israel in captivity, believing itself forgotten by Jehovah, and Cyrus on the march of conquest. In this time of stress Jehovah, as he has always done, raises a prophet with a message appropriate to the existing conditions. Because these prophecies were collected with those bearing the name of Isaiah, it was long believed that Isaiah had spoken them a hundred

and fifty years ahead of their time. But the internal evidence of the utterances, consisting of three independent lines of argument drawn from the historical situation, the literary style, and the religious conceptions, lead to the conclusion that they were the message of some great unnamed prophet of the exile, who to distinguish him from Isaiah has been named the Second or Deutero-Isaiah. The recognition of mistaken authorship and time does not detract from but enhances their religious value.

201. The Character and Message of Deutero-Isaiah. As these chapters are without biographical references, we possess no information on the person of the prophet. Opinions differ as to whether the author was himself an exile in Babylonia or a resident in Palestine, the difference being due to the extent his geographical allusions are interpreted as viewed from one or the other country. That he was a man of great tenderness is most evident from the endearing terms he frequently uses and the patient constancy with which he seeks to rouse the waning spirit of his countrymen.

Deutero-Isaiah is prophet and not priest; and with him prophetic thought reaches its height. His conception of Jehovah is the fullest expression of absolute monotheism. There exists no other God but Jehovah; he is the first and the last; and he cannot give his glory to others (42. 8; 44. 8; 45. 5, 14, 18; 46. 9). Jehovah is the creator of the universe, with all its life in the heavens and on earth (40. 22, 26, 28; 43. 7; 44. 24; 45. 7, 12, 18; 48. 13); he is the God of universal history (41. 4; 45. 1-6), and the God of prophecy (44. 7; 45. 11, 21; 46. 9), forming his purposes, declaring them before they are perceived, and working them out according to his predetermined will. Besides thus carrying the prophetic teachings of his predecessors to their logical extremes, Deutero-Isaiah reiterates other fundamental Hebrew ideas, Jehovah's justice (45. 21); faithfulness (46. 3); holiness (40. 25; 43. 5); his love and

forgiveness (43. 1-6; 54. 4-8), under Hosea's figure of Israel as Jehovah's wife; and even adding the suggestion of the motherhood of God (49. 15; 46. 3).

More distinctively characteristic of Deutero-Isaiah is his conception of Israel as the servant of Jehovah: what the prophets are to Israel, Israel is to be to the nations, that is, teachers or missionaries of the one true religion. To this mission Jehovah has called Israel and anointed him with his spirit (42. 1-4; 44. 21; 49. 1-7; 50. 4-9; 51. 4) as prophets are called and anointed. The religion of Israel thus becomes the religion of the world. But to learn its mission Israel had to pass through the experience of the loss of its national existence, through its death life is to come to the nations of the earth, and Israel's religion will become the religion of the world (52. 13 to 53. 12).

In correspondence with the conception of the servant of Jehovah is that of the Messianic kingdom. It is the idea of a universal kingdom, including all peoples, coming at the end of a world-process and concluding the history of the world. Jerusalem becomes the religious center of the world: light and law stream from it (51. 4) and the farthest peoples come to it to worship Jehovah (45. 14). The restoration of Israel does not, therefore, simply concern itself, but is a part of the conversion of the world, resulting in every knee bowing to Jehovah, and every tongue confessing him (45. 20-23; 42. 1-4). The conception thus reaches the height of universalism; national and racial barriers are broken down, and the way is opened for the universal brotherhood of man (see section 307).

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Read the Song of Moses as reflecting Israel's exiled condition.
2. Consider the success of Cyrus as a preparation for Israel's release.
3. Read the passages relating to the downfall of Babylon.
4. Read Isa 40 to 55 with the aid of the headings and consider

the appropriateness of the messages to an exiled and discouraged people.

5. Study carefully the passages embodying Deutero-Isaiah's conception of God and particularly his conception of the Servant of Jehovah.

5. The Religious and Social Teachings of the Prophets

202. The Prophet as a Religious and Social Force. The prominence of the prophet as a religious and social leader during the period from the disruption of the Hebrew kingdom to its dissolution justifies clearly that it be called distinctively the period of the prophets. It was they who saw the deeper meaning of the movement of their times, who by their warnings sought to avert the coming catastrophe, and when it had come brought home its lessons and saved the nation from total extinction. It will prove serviceable, now that we have reached the end of this period, to take a survey of the essential elements that the prophets have contributed to the religious and social ideals which constitute the permanent contribution to the highest welfare of the world, reaching its climax in the teachings of the greatest of all the prophets, the Prophet of Nazareth.

203. The Ethical Monotheism of the Prophets. When the conception of God has reached its highest point of development, each prophet adding some element, Jehovah has come to be recognized as an ethical and spiritual personality, the creator and sustainer of the universe, holding the forces of nature under his control, and dispensing them with moral ends in view; the God of history, taking an interest in the movements of the nations of the earth, and using them as instruments for mutual moral discipline; the God of righteousness and holiness, visiting the violations of his just demands with punishments, and obedience with rewards; the God of love, ready to pity and forgive the penitent; and the God of providence, having in view the

purpose of an all-embracing, beneficent kingdom, wherein his will is to find ready and hearty compliance.

204. **The Moral and Spiritual Nature of Religion.** It is the outgrowth of the conception of God. It is not to consist in mere formal acts of ceremonialism, but in the fulfillment of moral obligations toward one's fellow man.

> Doth Jehovah delight in offerings and sacrifices,
> As in obedience to the voice of Jehovah?
> Behold, obedience is better than sacrifice,
> And to hearken than the fat of rams (1 Sam 15. 22).

What unto me is the multitude of your sacrifices? saith Jehovah: I have had enough of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to trample my courts? Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; new moon and sabbath, the calling of assemblies,—I cannot away with iniquity and the solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth; they are a trouble unto me; I am weary of bearing them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek justice, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.

Come now, and let us reason together, saith Jehovah: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool (Isa 1. 11-18; Mic 6. 6-8; Hos 6. 6; and compare Matt 9. 13; 12. 7).

The ethical emphasis in the prophets' conception of religion is thus unmistakably strong, and of like character is the conception of the spirituality of religion. The priest may obtain the knowledge of the divine will by the manipulation of the sacred lot, by precedents, or by written law, but the prophet received it directly by being in living touch with God; he is conscious of Jehovah's presence and the reality of his divine mission and message, out of which

comes the assurance with which he asserts, "Thus says Jehovah." Religious knowledge comes to him through a divine influence upon his conscience in personal experience by which he sees actions and events in their true moral and religious significance. And this religious experience and knowledge the prophets regard as the normal privilege of every individual; and they look forward to the time when each individual will possess a divinely enlightened conscience, and be responsive to it, so that it will no longer be necessary to teach him the knowledge of God.

But this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith Jehovah: I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know Jehovah; for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith Jehovah: for I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I remember no more (Jer 31. 33f.).

205. The Social and Democratic Ideals of the Prophets. The prophets were no mere theorists, but practical men of affairs, and they sought to embody their ideals in a social order of which the basis was to be true democracy. Their ideal of society is one of universal good will, founded on righteousness and lawful endeavor. The citizens of the ideal state "shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more, but they shall sit every man under his vine and his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid" (Mic 4. 3f.). To bring to realization this ideal, the prophets attack the social vices of their day among high and low most unsparingly; but their special effort is directed toward the defense of the rights of the poor and oppressed against those who in their avarice "join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no room" for the common man (Isa 5. 8); that sell the "righteous for silver, and the needy for the

pittance of a pair of shoes"; that thirst so for more landed wealth that they "pant after the dust of the earth" that had settled on the head of the poor (Amos 2. 6f.).

But the prophet's social ideal is also strictly *democratic.* Herein he is in absolute contrast with the priest; he knows no class distinctions. "Would that all Jehovah's people were prophets, that Jehovah would put his Spirit upon them!" (Num 11. 29). There were no priestesses in the Hebrew religion, but there were prophetesses; and under the prophetic ideal woman loses the stigma of inferiority and comes to her full rights. In like manner it breaks down all other artificial barriers, dividing nations and individuals into hostile camps; and thus the prophets opened up the possibility of the realization of the universal brotherhood of man.

206. The Optimism of the Prophets. Striking as is the prophetic announcement of the evil to come on the nation, just as striking is the accompanying note of a future restoration. We may take as the classic example of this optimism Jeremiah's symbolic act of purchasing a piece of land in his native town of Anathoth, when every indication points to the absolute loss of land values through the downfall of the nation by the hand of Nebuchadrezzar. He buys in view of values not seen except by faith; he looks beyond the dark times to better days to come: "Houses and fields and vineyards shall yet again be bought in this land" (Jer 32. 6-15).

The same optimism is illustrated in Isaiah's symbolic son Shear-Jashub, "A remnant shall return" (Isa 7. 3; compare 10. 20f), or Ezekiel's symbolic name of the future Jerusalem: Jehovah-Shammah, "Jehovah shall be there" (Ezek 48. 35); but particularly in the constantly recurring Messianic expectation, the great hope of Israel, according to which Jerusalem, after the period of discipline by suffering, is to be the center of a new order, a divine kingdom, in which a Prince of the line of

David is to rule in righteousness and peace, and in which all the nations of the earth shall share its glory and blessings (Isa 9. 2-7; Mic 5. 2-5; Isa 11. 1-9; Mic 4. 1-5; Jer 31. 1-9; Isa 55. 1-5; 42. 1-4; 52. 13 to 53. 12).

This optimism, which sees the golden age not in the past but in the future, gave Israel its buoyancy in periods of distress; and it has proven itself an incentive and a source of strength to all efforts for the betterment of the world.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

General Review of the Period of the Prophets

1. By means of the outline in the Table of Contents review:
   (1) The main political events of the period.
   (2) Each of the prophets in the order of his historical appearance.
2. Summarize the permanent contributions the prophets have made to the moral, social, and religious ideals relating to
   (1) The conception of God.
   (2) The nature of religion.
   (3) The ideals of society.
   (4) The outlook for the future.
3. Consider to what extent these ideals are becoming potent in modern society.

PART III

THE PERIOD OF THE PRIESTS AND SCRIBES

FROM CYRUS, 538 B.C., TO HEROD I, 4 B.C.

CHAPTER XII

THE RESTORATION OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

(The Persian Period, 538-333 B. C.)

1. The Reawakening of the Jewish Community in Palestine—Sheshbazzar

207. The Persian Rulers. From Cyrus to Alexander the Great, 538-333 B. C., the Jewish community was for two centuries a Persian province, whose political history was closely interwoven with that of Persia, and the names of its rulers are often mentioned in the biblical accounts. But these names are variously transcribed and transmitted; no exact distinction is made between kings bearing the same name, and to avoid confusion the order in which the reigns followed needs to be well noted.

The date of Cyrus's conquest of Babylon (538) marks the beginning of the reawakening of the Jewish community in Palestine. The reign of his son Cambyses (530-522) was marked by his murder of his brother Smerdis and the conquest of Egypt. He was punished for the murder by a Magian priest, who as a pretender of his murdered brother (Pseudo-Smerdis) succeeded in wresting the Persian empire from him during his absence, thus leading to Cambyses' suicide. Pseudo-Smerdis was killed by Darius I (Hystaspes) (522-486), during whose long reign the Jews were treated with much favor, leading to the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem. His successor, Xerxes (486-465), is known in the book of Esther under the name of Ahasuerus; and its

description of the king's character agrees with that of classical authors, according to whom he was an effeminate, extravagant, cruel, and capricious despot. During the reign of his son, Artaxerxes I (Longimanus, 464-425), Nehemiah became governor of Judah. He is described as a good-hearted but weak sovereign, ruled by his wives and favorites, an account which agrees with what we learn from Nehemiah. He was followed by Xerxes II, whose reign was short. His successor was Darius II (Nothus, 425-404), whose cruel sister and consort was the real power behind the throne. He was succeeded by Artaxerxes II (Mnemon, 404-359), who was a mild ruler under whom Persia declined. It was in his reign that Ezra came on his important mission to Jerusalem. During the reign of the energetic but cruel and murderous Artaxerxes III (Ochus, 359-336), Persia revived again; but he no longer pursued the friendly policy of his predecessors toward the Jews and made them suffer severely. Bagoas, an Egyptian eunuch, poisoned the king at a time when Macedonia was pressing Persia, and placed Arses (339-336) on the throne. When the king tried to get rid of his patron he also fell his victim by poison and Bagoas conferred the crown upon Darius III (Codomannus, 336-333), under whom Persia fell into the hands of the conqueror Alexander the Great.

208. **The Biblical Sources.** The main source for this period is the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. They were originally one volume, for the ancient Hebrew editors treated them as one, and the subject-matter of the books is the same. The apocryphal book, First Esdras, is a Greek rescension of the two books treated as one; and a comparison between the two rescensions has led to the recognition of the value of First Esdras as an historical source. It not only contains valuable additional material, but its arrangement is superior. There are good reasons for holding to its priority over the canonical books; and

in the necessary rearrangement of the material for historical purposes, it renders, as will appear, a very useful service.

The book Ezra-Nehemiah as a whole was the work of the Chronicler, who did not write before the Greek period, and thus lived about two centuries after the time with which he deals. A recent close examination has revealed that the material which the author employed was not used with historical precision, leading to anachronisms and some confusion of events. As the books of Ezra and Nehemiah in their present form give it, the historical sequence of events was the following. The edict of Cyrus brings about a return of the Jews to Palestine, numbering about fifty thousand. Under the leadership of Jeshua and Zerubbabel, the altar is built and the foundations of the temple laid; but the work is interrupted for a while, and is finally completed in the reign of Darius, when the temple is dedicated (Ezra 1 to 6). In the reign of Artaxerxes, Ezra comes to Jerusalem, bringing with him another large number of exiles (chs. 7, 8). Ezra discovers that the community has entered extensively into mixed marriage relations with the neighbors of the Jews; and he prevails on them to separate themselves from their foreign wives (chs. 9, 10). Still in the reign of Artaxerxes, Nehemiah appears in Jerusalem; and in spite of the hindrances laid in his way by the enemies of the Jews, succeeds in building the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 1 to 6). Ezra now reads the Law to the people and they enter into a solemn covenant to keep it (chs. 8 to 10). The wall is dedicated, and the Law is enforced in various details (chs. 12, 13).

That such might have been the order of events is not intrinsically impossible; the difficulty in accepting it, however, is that it conflicts with the conditions of the community as depicted by the contemporaneous prophets Haggai and Zechariah, as well as with the data furnished by the Chronicler in the documents which he has incorporated

in his account, for it is to be noted that: 1. Ezra 4. 8-23 has nothing to do with the building of the temple; but is an Aramaic document relating to the building of the *walls* of Jerusalem (compare vv. 13f.; 16), in the time of Nehemiah (compare Neh 1. 3), about seventy years later, that is, in the reign of Artaxerxes I. 2. The list of names in Ezra 2. 1-58, which is also found in Neh 7. 6-60, and in 1 Esdras 5. 7-35, apparently gives those who returned in the time of Cyrus, but virtually it covers a series of returns, under various leaders, as Nehemiah, Ezra, and others, bearing Persian names, and extending through the first century of the Persian period, as is evident from the place names which are those of settled communities in Judah (confer Neh 11. 25ff.). 3. In the Aramaic document (Ezra 5. 3 to 6. 18) it is Sheshbazzar who is the first governor of the Jewish community (5. 14, 16); but in the Chronicler's account it is Zerubbabel who appears as the first governor (2. 2; 3. 2-13; 4. 1-3); this has led to the supposition that the two were identical persons under two different names; but, in view of other instances, it is more probable that it is one of the confusions of the Chronicler. 4. From the prophetical writings of Haggai and Zechariah, we must gather the impression that the beginnings of the community were very humble; that while there were some reenforcements from Babylonia, they were not sufficiently extensive to be noted by these prophets, who speak of these first efforts as those of "the people of the land" (Hag 2. 4; Zech 7. 5), or as "the people who have been left," or "remnant of the people" (Hag 1. 12, 14; 2. 2; Zech 8. 6, 11f.); but this is inconsistent with the great exodus from Babylon, numbering fifty thousand, and coming with rich presents, as the Chronicler pictures it; and this discrepancy is accounted for by taking it as another instance of confusing later conditions with earlier.

These instances may suffice to point out how to use the Chronicler's accounts. He was a theologian rather than

a historian; and in his treatment of the period of the restoration he puts the ecclesiastical aspects in the front, and shows less regard for the political aspects. But there is no need for going to the extreme of regarding his accounts as mere fiction, as has recently been done by some eminent biblical scholars. The Chronicler drew upon good material; he lived nearer the time with which he here deals; and there was less reason for his inventing situations; and we have thus good reasons for regarding his account as resting upon a substantial basis of history.

As already suggested, the prophetic writings of Haggai and Zechariah are sources of history for this period, to which must be added also the book of Malachi, Isa 56 to 66, and the book of Joel. In Zechariah we distinguish chs. 1 to 8 from 9 to 14, the latter belonging to a later period. Like most of the prophetic writings, they are of exceptional value for the light they throw upon contemporaneous events. The books of Ruth and Jonah reflect the thought of this time; and the Priests' Code (P) and the earlier elements of the Psalter, give us valuable glimpses into the ecclesiastical ideals and the inner life of the Jewish community.

209. The Edict of Cyrus. The Chronicler tells us that in the first year of his reign, which must mean as king of Babylon, Cyrus issued a decree ordering the return of the captive Jews to Jerusalem to rebuild the temple, and urging the offering of gifts for this purpose; and that Cyrus himself set the example of generosity by opening the treasures of Babylon, and returning the precious vessels of the temple of Jehovah which had been carried off as booty by Nebuchadrezzar. Although the wording of the decree is strongly Jewish, the evidences of Cyrus's policy as a conqueror which the inscriptions furnish confirm its general historical character. He treated the peoples which he conquered with leniency and friendliness, seeking to make them his friends; he purposely reversed the Assyrian and Babylonian policies,

Ezra 1; 2 Chron 36. 22f.; 1 Esdras 2. 1–14

and allowed those whom they had cruelly driven from their countries to return and rebuild the ruined temples and cities.

> . . . the cities on the other side of the Tigris, whose sites were of ancient foundation—the gods, who dwelt in them, I brought them back to their places, and caused them to dwell in their habitation for all time. All their inhabitants I collected and restored them to their dwelling places. And the gods of Shumer and Akkad, whom Nabonidus, to the anger of the Lord of the gods, had brought into Babylon, by command of Marduk, the great lord, I caused them peacefully to take up their dwelling in habitations that rejoiced the heart.[1]

These words of Cyrus make it clear that the Jews but shared the good fortune of his generous policy with other conquered nations; and that he treated the temple of Jehovah like the temples of other gods.

The name of the leader of the first return is given as Sheshbazzar, but we are not told who he was. As has already been said, it is not probable that he was identical with Zerubbabel. It is more probable that he is identical with Shenazzar (1 Chron 3. 18), a son of the captive King Jehoiachin, and uncle of Zerubbabel. He was thus of the royal house of David; his father had been liberated and treated with royal favor in 561 by Evil-Merodach (2 Kings 25. 27-30); he himself must have shared the royal dignity during the remainder of the exile; and he would now naturally be chosen as the leading Jewish representative.

How extensive the return was under Sheshbazzar we have no means of telling; that he was accompanied by some enthusiastic patriots of the poorer class is most probable. Neither do we know what was accomplished; but that it could not have been much is clear from what needed to be done subsequently. How long he acted as governor and the cause of his removal are also not known. But this return was nevertheless the inauguration, however

[1] See Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, p. 383.

humble, of the general movement of return from the exile. The Chronicler calls attention to the fact that the edict of Cyrus was in fulfillment of the prophecy of Jeremiah according to which the exile should last seventy years (confer 2 Chron 36. 21f.; Ezra 1. 1; Jer 25. 12; 29. 10). To find the period ending with the edict of Cyrus that exactly covers seventy years is not possible, for from the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 to Cyrus 538 is but forty-eight years, and counting from the first deportation in 597, it is but fifty-nine years. But this proves a serious difficulty only to those who hold a mechanical view of inspiration. What is of far more religious value is that the Chronicler rightly sees what the great prophet of the exile also had seen—that the hand of Jehovah was in the movement represented by Cyrus, and that it was designed to carry out the purposes of God (Isa 41. 2f., 25; 44. 28; 45. 1).

Why Sheshbazzar had not succeeded in accomplishing the mission of rebuilding the temple for which he had been sent to Jerusalem we can only surmise from various hints in the accounts. The native Jewish population was poor; they were harassed by jealous neighbors, and those who had come from Babylon were not numerous nor influential enough to overcome the obstacles; but he prepared the way for the second effort which was to be more successful.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Note well the order of the Persian rulers and their relation to the Jewish community.

2. Note the main outline of events in the present order of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

3. Compare carefully the passages that seem to indicate that the material has become misplaced and account for it.

4. Read the passages relating to the edict of Cyrus. Look up the reference to Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, and view the edict in the light of Cyrus' policy.

5. Consider the length of the Babylonian captivity and the extent of the return under Sheshbazzar.

2. The Rebuilding of the Temple—Zerubbabel

Ezra 2. 70 to 4. 3; 4. 24b to 6. 18; 1 Esdras 4. 42 to 5. 6

210. The Rebuilding of the Temple. The biblical accounts in their present form make the impression that the foundations of the temple were laid by Sheshbazzar, and that after an interval of sixteen years the building was completed in the reign of Darius I. But the contemporary prophet Zechariah (4. 9) declares, "The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundations of this house; his hands shall also finish it"; and, as we have seen that the identification of Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel is not allowable, we must conclude that the Chronicler, either because he has confused the two, or because he cannot conceive how the first expedition could have been so derelict in its duty to carry out the commission of building the temple, ascribed to Sheshbazzar what was really done by Zerubbabel. When these passages are read from the point of view that they give an account of an effort of a second expedition under the leadership of Zerubbabel and Jeshua in the reign of Darius I, they give a consistent and clear sense. It was in this manner that the events were understood by the writer of First Esdras and by Josephus (Antiquities, xi, 4. 1-3), who states in reference to some details "that was what Cyrus had commanded at first, and what was now done at the command of Darius." [2]

During the interval of sixteen years between the edict of Cyrus and the accession of Darius, the conditions of the Jewish community in Palestine improved sufficiently to encourage undertaking the rebuilding of the temple (Hag 1. 4). The governor of the community now was Zerubbabel, whose Babylonian name, "seed of Babylon," points clearly to his birth in exile; and he was like his predecessor Sheshbazzar of the royal line of David. Associated with him is Jeshua, or Joshua, the high priest, the two representing the civil and religious leadership of the community, having come

[2] For a full discussion, see the Introduction to Batten's International Critical Commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah.

from Babylon with reenforcements, and bringing with them a new enthusiasm for the revival of the community.

The combined effort of these leaders resulted in the erection of the altar on its ancient site, making possible the resumption of the daily sacrifices, and marking the first step in the rebuilding of the temple. Ezra 3. 1–6

211. The Prophet Haggai. But the progress was slow, and it required another kind of stimulus to arouse the community to action. It came, as in so many former times, in the chiding and encouraging tones of the voice of the Hebrew prophets.

Haggai was one of these prophets; and his message is a summons to build the temple. We have no direct information concerning his person; from the manner in which he speaks of the priests (2. 11-13) it has been inferred that he was a layman, and as his name is not in the list of those who have returned, he has been considered a native of Palestine. His ringing call is: "It is time to build the house of Jehovah! How can you dwell in contentment in your ceiled houses, while the temple lies still in ruins? Instead of wailing for more prosperous times, build Jehovah's house, and the action will bring you prosperity." And when his energetic words begin to take effect he assumes a more encouraging tone, and promises Jehovah's assistance in the undertaking, and as a reward the superior glory of the temple to be built. Hag 1. 1 to 2. 9

212. The Laying of the Foundations of the Temple. At last the community was aroused to action; the foundations of the temple were laid and with mingled emotions dedicated. Ezra 3. 8–13

The progress so far made furnishes to Haggai the occasion to deliver a twofold message of encouragement. The rising foundations of the sacred edifice are the symbol and promise of the removal of the community's defilement and of the return of Jehovah's favor; and out of the political commotions, in which kingdoms and thrones are over- Hag 2. 10–23

thrown, suggested by the Persian uprisings quelled by Darius, Zerubbabel, the community's governor and scion of David, shall become Jehovah's representative.

Ezra 4. 1–3

When the Samaritans saw the good work progress they proffered their aid, claiming to be Jewish coreligionists. But the priestly spirit could not tolerate such an alliance, and the offer was refused.

According to Hag 1. 1, the building of the temple began in the second year of Darius, that is, 520 B. C.; and according to Ezra 6. 15, it was completed in the sixth year of that reign, 516 B. C. The biblical accounts of the progress of the building have become confused by the insertion of some matter that relates to the building of the walls (Ezra 4. 4-24a), as already pointed out.

Ezra 4. 24b to 6. 18

According to the Aramaic account of the building of the temple in Ezra 4. 24b to 6. 18, an interruption occurred, brought about by the interference of some Persian officials, who appealed to Darius, but the appeal resulted favorably to the enterprise. In its present form the account conveys the information that it was Sheshbazzar who laid the foundations of the temple, and that the interruption lasted sixteen years. But it has been shown that such a view is untenable; and the correspondence in an earlier form probably related to an interruption in the time of Darius. But that it could not have been very long is clear from the fact that even without it the time allowed for the building of the temple is only about four years, which, in view of the fact that it took for the building of Solomon's temple seven years, is rather short.

213. **The Prophet Zechariah.** It was during the period of the building of the temple that another prophet ministered to the community—Zechariah. As the names of his ancestors appear in the list of Levites (Neh 12. 4, 16), the prophet must have been of priestly family; but that is all that we know of his personal life. His message, like Haggai's, concerns the undertaking of absorbing interest to

the people, the building of the temple, but in its form is far more elaborate and full of symbolism, anticipating the apocalyptic style of a later time.

Zechariah shares with Haggai the Messianic expectation awakened by the reviving of the community; but it becomes with him more pronounced and intensified; and the central thought of his message is that the new temple will become the center of a new era, the Messianic age. The political conditions of the times might easily lend themselves to an interpretation that would encourage such hopes. It was the period in Persian history covered by the revolutionary reign of Pseudo-Smerdis, characterized by revolts all over the empire. It was natural that it should bring to the patriotic enthusiasts of the struggling Jewish community the hope that their deliverance and renewed prosperity was at hand. This is the thought which Zechariah conveys to his flock in a series of visions and symbolic acts, interpreted by him also in more direct and intelligible form.

Zech 1. 7 to 6. 8

In a series of eight visions the prophet announces that with the help of God all obstacles will be overcome. The period of commotion to which Haggai (2. 6, 21f.) refers is over, and "the earth is still and at rest" (Zech 1. 11); that is, Darius had succeeded in restoring order in the empire. But Jehovah's returning favor to Zion is still the same: Jerusalem is to be rebuilt (1. 7-17); preparations are in progress by which the powers that have scattered Israel will be broken (vv. 18-21); Jerusalem will be built, but it will need no other walls than Jehovah's protection, and it will have room for limitless expansion as the home of the nations (ch. 2); the guilt that brought the exile will now be removed, and the Davidic royalty and the priesthood reestablished (ch. 3); Jehovah will provide the supply for the future maintenance of both royalty and priesthood (4. 1-6a, 10b-14); and Zerubbabel shall finish the building of the temple which he began (4; 6b-10a); the curse of punishment for social wrongs shall fall only upon the

guilty (5. 1-4); sin shall be banished from the land (vv. 5-11); and the nation in the north country (that is, Persia) which holds Israel in its power shall be visited with Jehovah's vengeance (6. 1-8). From the silver and gold which a deputation from Babylon has just brought, the prophet is to make a crown and set it upon the head of the "Branch," that is, the branch of David (Isa 11. 1; Jer 23. 5; 33. 15), Zerubbabel, and not Joshua, as the present text reads, symbolizing in most concrete form the restoration of the monarchy. The present text of this passage has been emended under the influence of priestly ideals, and the name of Joshua the high priest has been substituted for Zerubbabel, and two crowns for one, which has confused the text (6. 9-15), but we may still discern the Messianic hope of the times reflected therein. A question about fasting Zechariah answers in a true prophetic spirit: that Jehovah is less concerned in matters of eating or not eating than in social righteousness (ch. 7). He closes with a most magnificent prospect of future Jerusalem: It will be "the city of truth"; its streets will be full of joyous old and young people; prosperity and peace will dwell therein; fasts will be turned into feasts; it will be the rallying place of the nations of the earth; and ten men, out of the various languages of the nations, will even take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, "We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you" (ch. 8). Zech 9 to 14 belong to a later time (compare Section 246).

Isa 60 to 62; 66. 6-16

Some fragments of prophecy now incorporated in the Isaianic collection are similarly optimistic in tone and outlook. That they belong to this period is made probable by the fact that they reflect the conditions of the community when the temple was newly erected (60. 13), but the walls not yet built (60. 10). Jerusalem is to become the light and treasure-house of the world, and be no longer a forsaken city (60 to 62); the incredible thing, that a land and nation should be born in a day, will find its most

glorious illustration in Jerusalem, when they shall bring back the exiles out of all the nations of the earth (66. 7-17).

214. The Dedication of the Temple. After four years of struggling effort the temple was completed in the sixth year of Darius, 516 B. C.; and it was appropriately dedicated with offerings and the celebration of the Passover. We have no information of the dimensions of the building nor of its general structure; the only glimpses we get are indicative of its rather humble character (Ezra 3. 12; Hag 2. 3). It is evident that its dedication did not bring the Messianic age. Whether Zerubbabel was ever really crowned king we do not know. After the incident connected with the making of the crown he is no more heard of; and with him disappears from Old Testament history the dynasty of David. Ezra 6. 14–22

215. The Condition of the Jewish Community. From the completion of the temple to the reign of Artaxerxes—that is, the remainder of the long reign of Darius, the reign of Zerxes, and part of the reign of Artaxerxes, a period of about seventy years—we are left without information in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah concerning the condition of the Jewish community in Palestine. But the gap is somewhat filled up by what we may gather from some prophetic utterances that most probably fall within this period, the book of Malachi and Isa 56-59. The book of Esther, which professedly deals with the period of Xerxes, even if it were of value as a historical source, throws but an indirect light upon the conditions in Palestine. That a Haman could plan such degradation and total destruction of the Jewish race, averted only by the capricious despotism of the monarch, would imply that their condition throughout the Persian empire was far from favorable; and the picture that we get from the report that comes to Nehemiah (1. 3) confirms the impression that their condition in Palestine was most deplorable. Not only had the Messianic expectations not materialized, but they did not possess even

ordinary prosperity. Their harvests failed them (Mal 3. 11), their taxes were heavy (Neh 5. 4), and the Persian wars with the Greeks, Marathon and Salamis, no doubt sapped their strength. Social injustice was rampant; property was sold, and even children were sold into slavery to meet the demand of cruel creditors (Neh 5. 1-5), and foreign and younger women forced legitimate wives from their homes (Mal. 2. 11, 14-16). Faith in God gave way, and skepticism declared: "It is vain to serve God" (Mal 3. 14); the moral law had no force (Mal 3. 5); and the religious service was rendered with indifference and hypocrisy (Mal 1. 7f., 13f.; 3. 8-10).

216. The Book of Malachi. The community was thus facing a crisis, when a prophetic messenger appeared, who has left no other name behind than Malachi, "My Messenger" (3. 1); but his message is a trenchant arraignment of the existing evils and the announcement of the judgment to come. The neglect of the divine service, for which the priests are mainly responsible, causes the profanation of the name of Jehovah even among the Gentiles; and Jehovah will visit the sin upon them (1. 1 to 2. 9); the intermarriage with foreign wives is not only unjust but sacrilegious, and Jehovah hates divorces (2. 10-16); Jehovah will send his angel before him, and soon he himself will come for judgment upon those who practice social and religious wrongs (2. 17 to 3. 5); pardon and rich blessings await those who change their conduct (3. 6-12), and ultimately it will appear that there is a difference "between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God and him that serveth him not": the wicked will perish, "but unto you that fear my name shall the sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings" (3. 13 to 4. 6).

Isa 56 to 59

217. Isaiah 56 to 59. A similar arraignment of social and religious evils and the announcement of Jehovah's impending judgment, fitting this period, has been preserved in these chapters of Isaiah. The temple service appears to

be in progress, and the daily offerings presented, but the walls are still in ruins (58. 2, 12). The leaders of the community are selfish and greedy (56. 9 to 57. 2); among the despised Samaritans obscene religious rites are in full practice (57. 3-13a); in the Jewish community a faithful ritual observance is accompanied by quarrels and oppression of the poor (58. 1-12); Jehovah will no longer witness this rank injustice, but champion the cause of the innocent sufferers (ch. 59); he will reward the faithful with peace and prosperity (57. 13b-21) and multiply those that keep his law and observe his Sabbath (58. 13f.), even if they should be foreigners or eunuchs (56. 1-8).

It appears, then, that this first stage of the restoration of the Jewish community was very far from fulfilling the anticipations of the Great Prophet of the exile or of those associated with it. Cyrus could proclaim their liberty to return, but he could not persuade those who were comfortable in their exile to leave it for conditions likely to be fraught with privations and hardships. The few enthusiasts found themselves baffled by the many obstacles, and in spite of their tireless zeal accomplished but little. But fortunately there were still, both in Jerusalem and in distant Babylon, hearts that were warm with love for their desolate fatherland to make a renewed effort for its restoration.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Read the passages relating to the rebuilding of the temple and consider the most probable order of events.

2. Read the summons of the prophet Haggai to build the temple with the aid of the headings in your Bible.

3. Read the passages relating to the laying of the foundation of the temple and note the lethargy of the community and the offer of the Samaritans.

4. Consider the activity of the prophet Zechariah and study the meaning of his messages conveyed in the form of visions.

5. Read the passages in Isaiah and consider whether they do not reflect the conditions of this period.

6. Read the passages relating to the dedication of the temple and note whether the conditions of the community had reached the Messianic expectations.

7. Read the messages of the book of Malachi, following the outline given in the textbook.

8. Read the passages in Isaiah and note the conditions they reflect.

3. The Reorganization under Nehemiah

218. The Biblical Sources. For the important work which Nehemiah accomplished in reorganizing the Jewish community in Jerusalem we are fortunate in possessing biblical sources that are not surpassed in historical value by any others in the Old Testament. They are of the nature of personal memoirs, written in the first person, and by Nehemiah himself. They are clear and direct, and represent one of the rare instances, like that of Cæsar, of one who not only made but wrote history. The Chronicler has fortunately incorporated them into his work with but few alterations or additions; and as a whole they consist of Neh 1-7; 12. 27-43; 13. 4-31; of which ch. 3, containing a list of names, is probably the most notable secondary addition. Here must be added also Ezra 4. 4-23, which evidently deals with the building of the walls of Jerusalem; verses 8-23 are in Aramaic, and contain a letter addressed to Artaxerxes, which has evidently become misplaced and belongs immediately before Neh 1.

Ezra 4. 4–23; Neh 1

219. The Condition of Jerusalem. It was in the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes I (464-425), that is, in 444 B. C., that Nehemiah, who held the high and confidential office of cupbearer to the king, heard in the Persian capital at Susa through a relative of his, Hanani, who had with other Judæans recently arrived from Jerusalem, that the city was in a sad plight; the wall was broken down, the gates burned with fire, and the community in great affliction and reproach.

It is quite evident that this report relates to something

that had recently happened and does not refer to what was done by Nebuchadrezzar over a hundred and forty years before. In accordance with this supposition is the fact that the letter relating to the building of the walls is dated in the reign of Artaxerxes (Ezra 4. 7, 23). It would appear, then, that in the earlier part of the reign of Artaxerxes, a considerable body of exiles had returned to Jerusalem, and had set themselves to the task of rebuilding the walls of the city (v. 12), which was a most essential requirement for the existence of the community in view of the threatening attitude of its hostile neighbors. It appears from the zeal and anxiety with which the effort was pursued that considerable progress had been made. The Samaritans, after their offer to join in the building of the temple had been repulsed, saw in the rise of Jerusalem out of its ruins nothing but a rival and hostile power, and sought by all means possible to hinder the work. Thus they had sought to interrupt the building of the temple in the time of Darius; a similar attempt they had made in the time of Xerxes (Ezra 4. 6), of the success of which nothing has come down to us; and now again, in the reign of Artaxerxes, when the fortification of Jerusalem was well advanced, they appealed to the king to stop the work, citing the city's rebellious history as the ground for its suppression. In the earlier part of his reign, Artaxerxes had to deal with a serious revolt of Egypt (460); and it may be that a suspicion that the fortification of Jerusalem might be hostile to him, led him to decree that the building cease until further orders. When the royal mandate reached Syria, the Samaritans went with haste to Jerusalem and made the Jews cease the work by "force and power." Having matters in their own hands, and finding the work well advanced, it is most probable that they exceeded the order by so much as to tear down some of the wall and burn the gates with fire. It is to this recent calamity, but ten or fifteen years back, that the report which Nehemiah now hears has refer-

ence. It stirs profoundly his patriotic heart, and fills him with great sadness, to which he gives utterance in prayer and fasting.

Neh 2. 1–9

220. Nehemiah Governor of Jerusalem. Showing the distress of his mind in his features, Nehemiah succeeded in obtaining the sympathy and aid of Artaxerxes to carry out his wish to rebuild the ruins of the city of his ancestors. The revolt in Egypt had been put down by the Persian general Megabyzos in 455, and the suspicion of hostile designs in Jerusalem no longer existed. Moved by the distress of his favorite, the king grants him a leave of absence to go to Jerusalem to rebuild its walls; and to aid him to accomplish his purpose he provides him with an armed escort, appointing him at the same time governor of the province of Judæa (Neh 5. 14).

Nehemiah's task was by no means easy nor simple: he had to arouse the lethargy of a discouraged and poor community, to utilize the slender means at his command to best advantage, and to ward off the hostile endeavors of those who did not wish to see Zion arise from its ashes. But he addressed himself to his task with a masterful circumspection, energy, and devotion.

Neh 2. 10 to 3. 32

Nehemiah knew how to keep his own counsel until his plans were mature enough to be put into execution. On his arrival in Jerusalem he concealed his purpose until after his lonely midnight tour of inspection around the ruined walls of the city. Then, undaunted by the obstacles, he aroused the community with the call, "Come and let us build the walls of Jerusalem and remove our reproach!" pointing to his commission from the king. It is highly probable that the list of builders of chapter three is a later contribution of the Chronicler, but it nevertheless furnishes evidence of Nehemiah's capacity for organization, proceeding upon principles of community interests, and assigning each man his definite task.

Neh 4; 6

221. The Opposition. The leaders of the opposition

to Nehemiah were: First and foremost Sanballat, a native of Beth-horon, and hence called the Horonite. From his Babylonian name he has been considered as a descendant of a Babylonian family, but he may have been a Jew; and the Elephantine papyri have brought evidence that he, like his two sons, was governor of Samaria. Tobiah, the Ammonite, was evidently an alien; he is called opprobriously "the slave," and was probably a slave of the Persian king, having risen to a position of influence. Geshem, the Arabian, was another alien. It is quite probable that the ground of the opposition was mainly political, and it assumed various phases with the progress of the walls. At first it was mere derision; then anger, with the design of an attack, against which Nehemiah provided by means of armed guards; and then it was by various plots to get Nehemiah into their power to murder him. Four times they invited him to meet them for conference, the fifth time to explain a charge of treason which they had invented. With the aid of a temple official and a prophetess, Noadiah, they sought to frighten him into seeking safety in the sanctuary, that they might reproach him with sacrilege and break his influence with the people. But Nehemiah saw through all their intrigues, and would in no wise allow himself to be diverted from pressing on in building the walls.

222. **The Completion of the Walls.** After fifty-two days of most strenuous effort the walls were completed, the gates hung in their places, and provisions made for securely guarding the city. Then the community celebrated the accomplishment of the task with appropriate festivities of thanksgiving and sacrificial meals, the account of which the Chronicler has somewhat embellished. Action also was taken to secure a population for Jerusalem by bringing ten per cent of the country population to the city. The city wall now encircled the civil and religious community, and it must have imparted to it a sense of satisfaction and security, finding an echo in Psa 51. 18f.:

Neh 6. 15; 7. 1–3a; 12. 27–43; 11. 1f.

Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion;
Build up the walls of Jerusalem!
Then thou wilt delight in true offerings, the burnt and the whole;
Then will they offer bullocks upon thy altar.

223. Nehemiah's Other Reforms. The first term of Nehemiah's governorship of Jerusalem lasted twelve years (Neh 5. 14). The building of the walls had been accomplished during the first year; and it was evidently but the beginning of a thorough reorganization of the community.

Neh 5

One of the first abuses he was called upon to correct was the loan system, by which the richer members oppressed the poor. They practiced a shameless usury on the necessary funds to seed the fields and pay the king's taxes, making the poor mortgage or sell their property to the nobles and even sell their children into alien slavery. By most emphatic remonstrance and unselfish personal example Nehemiah made the priests and nobles remit the debts and solemnly promise not to repeat acts of usury. He himself, instead of claiming a governor's tribute, contributed out of his private means toward the support of the needy community.

Unfortunately, our fragmentary sources leave us without further information on Nehemiah's activity during the long remainder of his first term of office (444-432).

Neh 13. 4–31. 12. 44–47; 13. 1–3

224. The Reforms of Nehemiah's Second Term. Between Nehemiah's first and second terms of office lies a period during which he resided at the court of King Artaxerxes, the extent of which we have no sufficient data to determine. But that it must have been of some considerable length is clear from the abuses which had crept in during his absence, which he found necessary to reform on his return, and for which he probably returned to Jerusalem on purpose. The abuses consisted of the profanation of the temple court, the neglect of the Levitical service, the breaking of the Sabbath, and intermarriages with foreigners. Nehemiah drove Tobiah from the temple court, and restored the chambers to sacred uses; he pro-

vided for the maintenance of the temple service by the proper collection and distribution of the tithe; he used most drastic measures to stop working and trading on the Sabbath day, and stemmed the tide of wholesale intermarriages with Philistines, Ammonites, and Moabites, by striking, cursing, and pulling the hair of those who would not yield, and, to give a most striking example, drove out the high priest's son who had married Sanballat's daughter.

How long Nehemiah's second term lasted we do not exactly know. The Elephantine papyri give Bagohi as the governor of Judah in 407, and on the interval there is no light.

225. The Character and Achievements of Nehemiah. Nehemiah, judging from the custom at Persian courts, was probably a eunuch, who had started in a humble way in the service of the king, but had risen to high, remunerative, and influential position. But his advancement did not hinder him from keeping loyal to his Jewish faith and people; and when the opportunity offered itself he used his influence in their behalf. Although himself a layman, he must have had his education and training in priestly circles, for his ideals were those of the exclusive particularism which characterized the priestly class. Having once determined upon a course of action, he possessed the courage, energy, and persistency not to be turned from it. He knew how to get men to work and to inspire them to effort; he could be intolerant and hostile, and dared even to use physical force to make men yield to his plans. He was unselfish, self-sacrificing, conscious of his merits, but devout and God-fearing.

His achievements were vital to Judaism. The wall around Jerusalem was the wall around Judaism, shutting it out from influences that might weaken it; it was a mighty step in the direction of Pharisaism. Whether this step was necessary under the circumstances to keep the Hebrew religion alive it is not easy to say, but it is certain that it

had to retrace its steps before it could become fit for universal conquest.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Note the biographical character of the sources for the history of Nehemiah and mark them in your Bible.
2. Read the passages relating to the condition of Jerusalem prior to the coming of Nehemiah and note the effect the report had on him.
3. Note the appointment of Nehemiah as governor and the manner he set himself to his task.
4. Note the opposition to Nehemiah's work and its causes.
5. Read the passages relating to the completion of the walls and note the sense of security it produced on the community.
6. Note Nehemiah's other reforms and the reforms of his second term of office.
7. Estimate the character and achievements of Nehemiah.

4. Ezra and the Institution of the Priestly Law

Ezra 7 to 10; Neh 7. 70 to 10. 39

226. The Biblical Sources. The account of the work of Ezra is the contribution of the Chronicler or the priestly historian, and on our approach to it we are again face to face with all the problems associated with his method of writing history. In the Chronicler's view it is Ezra, the priest, whose genealogy he traces back to Aaron, the ready scribe of the law of Moses or of the God of heaven, who is the chief actor in the restoration, and Nehemiah the layman only an inferior assistant. Ezra appears first on the scene, and he is the last to disappear. But on a critical examination of the data it appears that this prominence of the priest over the layman is due to the manner in which the material has been arranged and that it is contrary to indications which the material itself furnishes and to historical probability. That Ezra's activity did not begin thirteen years before Nehemiah's with an interval of a thirteen years' silence between him and Nehemiah's, but that it followed Nehemiah's, or, in other words, that the Artaxerxes of Ezra is not the Artaxerxes Longimanus of

Nehemiah, but Artaxerxes II or Mnemon (404-359), is made probable by the following considerations: (1) In Nehemiah's memoirs he never mentions Ezra; (2) when Ezra appears the wall is already built (Ezra 9. 9); (3) the order of Neh 12. 26 is "Nehemiah the governor, and of Ezra the priest the scribe," indicating successive periods; (4) a comparison of Neh 12. 10f. and v. 22 shows the order of high priests to have been: Eliashib, Joiada, Jonathan or Johanan, Jaddua, and that Jonathan and Johanan are the same; now Eliashib was the high priest in Nehemiah's time (Neh 3. 1, 20f.; 13. 4, 7, 28) and Johanan or Jehohanan the grandson of Eliashib in Ezra's time (Ezra 10. 6), which corresponds exactly with the interval of two generations between Artaxerxes I and Artaxerxes II. That the Chronicler has confused the two kings' names Artaxerxes, thus making Nehemiah and Ezra contemporaries, is further seen from the improbability that Artaxerxes I should have sent two men to do practically the same work at the same time; that Nehemiah should have had to deal with the mixed marriages as a new problem after their wholesale dissolution by Ezra (compare Neh 13. 23ff. with Ezra 9f.); or that the Levites should have been driven to work in the fields for a living in view of Ezra's provisions for them (compare Ezra 7. 11ff. with Neh 13. 10f.); but all these circumstances fall into line when it is assumed that Ezra followed Nehemiah, and that the Chronicler has put into wrong chronological order the events described in Ezra 7 to 10 and Neh 7. 70 to 10. 39.

This displacement of the material used by the Chronicler raises the priest Ezra into the position of preeminence. The king's decree, given in an Aramaic form in Ezra 7. 11-26, when compared with the grant in the memoirs of Nehemiah (2. 1-9), appears exaggerated in tone and content. The money grant and the treasures the company brings to Jerusalem, according to Ezra 8. 26f., would be equivalent to a million dollars of silver and three millions

of gold. This wealth is out of accord with historical probability, and most probably is due to the Chronicler's tendency to large numbers and idealization. Yet, all this does not justify the supposition that the Chronicler's account of Ezra has no historical basis, but only that he has used good and reliable historical tradition with the purpose of emphasizing the greater importance of the work of the priestly class to which he himself belonged.

227. The Return Under Ezra. Making all due allowance for the Chronicler's point of view, he brings to us the account of an extensive and important return of the exiles to Jerusalem. Nehemiah's work had made Judæa inhabitable; and the report of what he had accomplished must have had its effect in stirring the patriotism of those who required stronger inducements to do their duty. It

Ezra 7 was in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes II, that is, in 397, or about twenty years later, that the new movement toward the restoration of the Jewish community took place. Its leader at this time was not a layman, but Ezra, the priest and scribe; the nature of it was, corresponding with the new leadership, particularly religious; and its keynote the phrase of v. 27, "to beautify [or glorify, compare Isa 55. 5; 60. 7, 9, 13] the house of Jehovah which is in Jerusalem."

It was a considerable company of exiles that came with Ezra, probably the large majority of those enumerated in

Ezra 8 the various lists contained in Ezra 2, 8, and Neh 7, and numbering nearly fifty thousand. We meet here with interesting details, which may be taken as typical, of how the caravans of the pilgrims were organized, the starting place of the caravan, and the rich presents that the wealthy exiles contributed to their poorer brethren in the homeland. One instance is peculiarly noticeable as illustrating the difference between the matter-of-fact procedure of the businesslike layman, Nehemiah, and the religious enthusiast, Ezra. The former took the precautions of an armed body-

guard for protection against attacks on the desert highway and in Jerusalem, but Ezra looked upon such a provision as a lack of faith in God's protecting power; and instead held a fast and prayer meeting to ask for God's protection (vv. 21-23, 31).

228. **Ezra's Marriage Reforms.** The first problem Ezra 9f. Ezra had to face in his effort to establish the community on the basis of priestly ideals was that of dealing with the non-Jewish element. Nehemiah, as we have seen, had had to deal with the same problem; but Ezra had the advantage of his predecessor's labors, and his own could be all the more thorough. Our sources emphasize the heinousness of the offense of these intermarriages by a most vivid description of the effects their disclosure had upon Ezra. He becomes nearly beside himself for grief; he assumes all the forms of the custom of mourning, and utters in behalf of the community a humble prayer of repentance and cry for divine mercy.

To what extent Ezra succeeded in his difficult task is not altogether clear. It required the breaking up of tender ties, involving parents and children and the dissolutions of homes. The general trend of the Chronicler's story is to the effect that the community as a whole confessed its guilt and made reparation by sending their foreign wives back home. But he has left some indications that point the other way. Some of the people pleaded for more deliberation in the matter, as there were many involved, pointed to the bad, rainy weather as an excuse for going slowly, and some openly opposed the action altogether (10. 13-15). It is quite probable, however, that the energy and zeal of the priestly reformer overcame the obstacles put in the way of what he considered a necessary reform.

229. **The Reading of the Law.** But the culmination Neh 8 of Ezra's activity was the solemn adoption by the community of the Priestly Law. We are furnished with a detailed account of the proceedings of which the first step

was the public reading of the Law. The assembly of the people had gathered in the open in front of one of the gates; a wooden pulpit had been erected for the occasion from which the reading was done. Ezra brought the Law book, and, surrounded by priests and Levites, read it to the people, making the effort to explain to the people the meaning of what was read. The account suggests a similar occasion, when in the days of King Josiah the Deuteronomic law book was found. The grief that the reading produced was made to turn into a joyful feast, and as it was the time for the keeping of the feast of Tabernacles, it was celebrated strictly according to the levitical requirements (compare Lev 23. 39ff.).

Neh 9f.

230. The Adoption of the Priestly Law. Upon a later occasion, we are informed, there was a further reading of the Law, followed by a prayer of confession, containing a comprehensive review of Hebrew history, illustrating the national delinquency in obeying the law of God. But now the people bind themselves most solemnly to walk henceforth according to God and the law (10. 29), and immediately enforce upon its basis several essential requirements: (1) Not to enter into marriage relations with alien peoples; (2) not to trade on the Sabbath day; (3) to keep the law of the sabbatical year, that is, to let the land lie fallow and remit the debts of a fellow Hebrew (confer Lev 25. 1-7; Deut 15. 1-11); (4) to pay one third of a shekel as a temple tax and supply the necessary wood for the altar, and thus provide for the sustaining of the temple service (Lev 6. 12); and (5) to bring in the first-fruits of the produce, the firstlings of the flocks, and cattle, and the tithe to support the priests and Levites.

231. The Character of the Priestly Law. What was this Law that Ezra brought and read and which the community adopted? It has already been pointed out that the legislation of the Hebrews passed through various stages, represented by different codes of laws, before it reached the

stage represented by the Pentateuchal law as a whole. The codes that we have already met in our historical study, apart from the earliest, are the Book of the Covenant, the Deuteronomic Law, and the Law of Holiness. Was, then, Ezra's Law one or the combination of these, or another law? A comparison of the enactments that accompanied the promulgation of the Law of Ezra with the Pentateuchal laws indicates that it was not one of those already adopted, but the new and later element contained in the source of the Hexateuch known as the Priests' Code (P). The celebration of the feast of Tabernacles and the other enactments correspond more nearly with the legislation in that code, although some differences, as, for instance, the temple tax, half a shekel instead of one third (compare Neh 10. 32 with Exod 30. 13; 38. 26) would indicate that the Priests' Code passed through revisions before it assumed the present form.

The Priestly Document is composed of narrative and legislation; but the narrative is really legislation in the form of story, and the same spirit and purpose pervade both. The ritualistic and legal tendencies of Old Testament religion have here reached their highest point of development. Its underlying conception we have already met with in Ezekiel and the Law of Holiness, namely, the holiness of Israel as the people of God, ritually understood, and the consequent subordination of the whole national and social life to this idea, or, in other words, the theocratic character of Israel—the Jewish Church. The conception grew out of Israel's experience in exile, which brought out (1) the need of isolation; (2) the consciousness of guilt; and (3) the importance of ritual and religious institutions. All three find their expression in the Priestly Document, which, by means of story and law, seeks to furnish the individual member of the theocracy with all kinds of ceremonies by which he can testify that he regards Jehovah as the Lord of all space, time, possessions, and life.

232. The Effect of the Institution of the Law. The solemn covenant into which the community entered to be strictly governed by the Priestly Law was the more formal beginning of the reign of legalism or the rise of Judaism. The movement, begun with the Deuteronomic law, had now reached its height. Henceforth Israel is no longer a nation but a religious community, ruled by priests according to the written law; and its life and aspirations become predominantly religious and ritualistic. This accounts for the fact that both in the biblical tradition which the Chronicler represents and in rabbinic Judaism, Ezra is regarded as a second Moses.

233. The Establishment of the Samaritan Community. One of the immediate effects of the exclusivism resulting in the adoption of the Priestly Law was the organization of the Samaritans into an independent religious community, which ultimately built its own temple on Mount Gerizim. While this general outcome is clear, the intermediate steps leading to it are not altogether certain. A definite step in the direction was taken during the second term of Nehemiah, when he drove out "one of the sons of Joiada," the high priest, because he had married a daughter of Sanballat, the governor of the Samaritans. Josephus (Antiquities, xi, 7. 2; 8. 2) relates that a certain Manasseh, the brother of Jaddua, the high priest, married Nicaso, the daughter of Sanballat, and was forced by the elders of Jerusalem either to relinquish his wife or the priesthood. His father-in-law persuaded him to retain his wife by the promise that he would secure him the office of high priest and a temple among the Samaritans, which temple was built by permission of Alexander the Great. The difficulty with Josephus's account is that there is a century between the Sanballat of Nehemiah's time and that of Alexander. There were either two Sanballats who both married daughters to the sons of Jewish high priests, causing both on this account to be driven from Jerusalem, or Josephus has placed

the event a century too late. But this uncertainty does not involve the general facts that Nehemiah and Ezra's religious policy led to the Samaritan religious independence, that by the time of Alexander they had their own temple on Mount Gerizim, and that the Jews would have no religious dealings with the Samaritans.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Consider the grounds for holding that Nehemiah preceded Ezra by twenty years and that the Chronicler favors the latter.
2. Consider the object of the mission of Ezra and the extent of the return under his leadership.
3. Note Ezra's marriage reforms and the difficulties they involved.
4. Note the reading and adoption of the Priestly Law.
5. Consider the character of the Priestly Law and its relation to the law codes that had preceded it. See Section 6.
6. Note the effect of the institution of the Law on the future development of the Jewish religion.
7. Consider the effect on the Samaritan community.

5. The Suffering Community and the Problem of Job

234. The Last Decades of Persian Rule. For the period that followed the restoration of the Jewish community under Nehemiah and Ezra, our biblical sources furnish us no direct data. From the lists which the Chronicler has incorporated into his account, we obtain some glimpses on the territory the province covered during this period and its gradual extension. During the time of Nehemiah its northern extreme was Mizpah, the eastern Jericho, the southern Bethzur, and the western Zanoah and Keilah (Neh 3), altogether about twenty miles square and of very limited fertility. During the later part of the period it extended southward as far as Beersheba, with seventeen towns lying between it and the environs of Jerusalem (Neh 11. 25-30); in the north and northwest it included Michmash, Ai, Bethel, Ono, Lydda, and ten others (Neh 11. 31-36); making a grand total of thirty-three cities and

their adjacent country, covering a territory sixty by forty miles in extent. Conditions were now more favorable, and the province grew, we have reason to believe, from additions from Babylonia and the aggregations of the elements that had remained scattered in the land.

But there appear no evidences of prosperity during the closing period of the Persian rule, but, on the contrary, such light as we obtain from other than biblical sources would seem to indicate that the Jewish colony suffered. Josephus (Antiquities, xi, 7. 1) tells of an invasion of Jerusalem under the Persian general Bagoses (Bagoas), who had come to punish a quarrel between two of the high priest's sons for the succession to the office of high priest in which one of the brothers was murdered, imposing a heavy fine for seven years, and entering haughtily in the Holy of Holies. This must have occurred about the end of the reign of Artaxerxes II (cir. 460). It is quite probable that under his successor, Artaxerxes III (Ochus, 359, 336), the Jews participated in an uprising against Persia led by the Phœnicians, which was cruelly punished by Ochus in a sack of Jericho and a partial captivity of the Jews to Hyrcania, on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea (Solinus, xxxv, 6; 35. 4; Syncellus, i, 486). There are no undoubted allusions to these events in the biblical sources; but the following passages, which express the sufferings of Jerusalem from the oppression of a mighty foe and the hope of his speedy visitation with divine vengeance, have been considered by some to refer to the persecutions under Ochus: Isa 24-27; 63. 7 to 64. 12; Psa 44, 74, 79, 89.

235. **The Prophecy of Joel.** The fact that the Greeks are mentioned in Joel 3. 6 has led to the conclusion that the prophecy of Joel belongs to the closing years of the Persian period. It is a message of encouragement in distress. The land is visited with a devastating invasion of locusts, either literally understood, or metaphorically of an invasion of a

hostile army, and the call comes to fasting and prayer. Jehovah is moved to compassion, and the promise of returning favor is given. The nations meet in the valley of Jehoshaphat ("Jehovah's judgment") for Jehovah's judgment, and the outcome is Jerusalem's perpetual prosperity.

The general content of the message is often met with in earlier prophecy, but what is new is the form in which it is conveyed. It belongs to the beginnings of the type of prophecy which deals in highly colored figures of the end of things, known as apocalyptic and eschatological, and in which Isa 24 to 27 also shares.

As historical sources they speak out of a period of distress; and as such we must consider the closing years of the Persian rule. The Jewish community is struggling with adverse circumstances, and the Messianic age is longed for.

236. The Problem of the Book of Job. If ever in its national history the Jewish people sought to live according to the divine law, it certainly was doing so now. The priestly element of the people was in power, filled with a new zeal to scrupulously keep itself from defilement with heathen contact, and to obey in all details the requirements of the divine service. The community was comparatively small, and more easily controlled, and apparently sharing in their leaders' devotion to piety and sanctity. How the representative Jew of this time felt as he stood before God may be seen illustrated in the words from Psa 26. 1-7:

> Plead for me, O Jehovah, for I walk in my integrity;
> In Jehovah I trust without wavering.
> Try me, O Jehovah, and prove me;
> Test my heart and my mind.
> For thy graciousness is before me;
> And I walk in thy truth.
> I sit not with men who are false;
> And with dissemblers I do not associate.

I hate the assembly of evildoers;
And sit not in the company of the wicked.
I wash my hands in innocence;
And go about thine altar, O Jehovah.
To chant aloud my thanksgiving;
And to declare all thy wonders.

Yet in spite of this evident endeavor of genuine integrity, moral and ceremonial, the community was in grievous distress, oppressed by a haughty and cruel overlord; and having been taught that he who delights in the law of Jehovah shall prosper, they were face to face with the problem of the ages, "Why do the righteous suffer?"—and this is the problem of the book of Job. It is clearly the product of an age when national and individual experience forced the question to the front; and it throws much light upon this period when the Jews made history, not indeed in politics, but in the thought of the world, for the book of Job stands out as the great masterpiece of Hebrew literature, scarcely surpassed by any other in the literature of the world.

Job, a righteous and God-fearing man, representing the nation or individual, is suddenly deprived of his possessions and health, and those nearest to him tell him to curse God and die. Not knowing why the disasters have come upon him, but certain, not of his sinlessness, but of his general integrity, he refuses to follow the common view of his day that his claims to righteousness are merely hypocrisy, and that he has secretly committed sins enough to deserve all the terrible sufferings with which he has been visited. Being placed by those who argue with him before the dilemma either to give up his faith in a righteous God or his own consciousness of integrity, he chooses neither, but with the heroic boldness of a religious genius reaches the conclusion that in spite of all appearances God is not against him but for him; that he will yet appear as his vindicator, if not before he dies then after he is dead,

and that, though the cause of his sufferings is shrouded in mystery, he will not give up his trust in God, saying with the psalmist: "Nevertheless I am ever with thee . . . although my flesh and my heart faileth, God remains ever the rock of my heart and my portion" (Psa 73. 23, 26).

The problem of suffering receives comprehensive treatment in the various elements that constitute the discussion. In the prose portions of the book, the prologue (ch. 1) and the epilogue (42. 7-17), representing the oldest element drawn from folk-tale, sufferings are considered as a trial of disinterested righteousness, the successful issue of which receives the reward of increased prosperity. The three friends of Job, his so-called comforters, defend the view that suffering is punitive (15. 17-35), but also disciplinary (5. 17-27), neither purposes of which Job denies, only that he fails to see that it meets exactly his case. The Elihu speeches reiterate the views of the three friends, with special emphasis upon the disciplinary purpose of suffering (33. 13-28; 36. 8-16). Job himself comes to his view of sufferings only after a long struggle, in which he is far from the patience for which he is renowned. He curses the day wherein he was born (ch. 3); complains that Jehovah pursues him relentlessly (7. 17-21); and even charges him with injustice (9. 22-24). But ultimately he comes to recognize by various stages of personal contact with God (13. 22; 14. 15), culminating in a final experience of God's nearness (42. 1-6), that the purposes of God which he cannot comprehend through his intellect he may perceive through his conscious childlike trust in God's goodness and wisdom.

Opinions differ as to whether the book of Job solves the problem of suffering, but that it contributes largely to its solution cannot be questioned. The problem is complex, and no single statement can be comprehensive enough to cover it. Each view represented contains an element of truth: suffering is in most cases clearly punitive, a deserved

punishment for sin; it may be always, and even with the perfect, a test of character and disciplinary in its effect (compare Heb 4. 15; 5. 8); it may be in some cases vicarious, in the interest of some other's good (see Section 201); but whether its purpose is one or the other, the genuine religious attitude toward it must be that of confident resignation to God's wise and beneficent purpose as clearly manifest in his government of the world.

It is quite evident that this discussion in the book of Job, added to the ideal of the Suffering Servant of Jehovah, and represented also in Psa 37, 49, 73, and 22, has in its essential features prepared the way for the thought of the *via dolorosa,* the way of the cross, "the climax and most complete expression of the process to which we owe the entire evolution of our race," so prominent in the New Testament.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Trace on the map the extent of the Jewish territory in Palestine. Consider the condition of the Jewish community. Look up the reference to Josephus and the passages at the end of section 234.
2. Read the prophecy of Joel and note the purpose of his message and the new form it assumes.
3. Obtain a clear outline of the contents of the book of Job, using the headings.
4. Consider the problem with which the book of Job deals and whether it finds its cause in the condition of the community.

6. The Religious and Social Ideas Under the Law

237. Religious Conceptions. The tendency of ceremonialism is to make discriminations between persons, actions, objects, and seasons; to regard some as secular and others as holy. Its effect is that life and thought become circumscribed, and all sorts of barriers spring up. The first barrier thus to appear was that which divided God from man. The prophetic conception of the nearness of Jehovah is gradually changed into his remoteness; it gives rise to the transcendental conception of God over against the

anthropomorphic, illustrated, as already pointed out (Section 23), in the two accounts of creation. God recedes, as it were, more into heaven, and he is spoken of now frequently as "the God of heaven" (Ezra 5. 12; 6. 10; 7. 12, 21, 23; Neh 1. 4f.; 2. 4, 20). He acts upon the world more indirectly by his word, or by his spirit (Gen 1. 2; Job 33. 4).

Closely associated with this conception of God is that of the intermediate agency of angels good and bad. Angels appear now far more frequently in the role of agents who carry out God's appointed tasks (Zech 1. 9, 13f.; 2. 1; 4. 1f.; 5. 5, 10; 6. 4). Among the agents appears one whose special office it is to act as the "adversary" or "accuser" of man, Satan (Zech 3. 1-5; Job 1. 6-12; 2. 1-7), doing particularly the tasks that are harmful to man (compare 2 Sam 24. 1 with 1 Chron 21. 1; and note what in the earlier passages is ascribed to Jehovah himself is in the later ascribed to Satan). But we have here as yet only the beginnings of what becomes in a more developed form a completely systematized doctrine of angelology and demonology, in which the constituent elements are distinguished by names and ranks. As the Persians possessed a fully developed system of these ideas, it is highly probable that the Jews were strongly influenced by them.

238. **Religious Institutions.** Indicative also of the tendency of this time to emphasize sanctity by segregation, is the priestly conception of the tabernacle, the sacrifices, and the priesthood. The tabernacle is the dwelling place of Jehovah in the midst of his people (Exod 25. 8; 29. 45f.); sacredly guarded (Num 2); and entered into by various degrees: an outer court, an inner court, the holy place, and the most holy place. The sacrificial system of the Old Testament is expressive of two essential ideas—fellowship and guilt. The sacrificial feasts in which the flesh of the animals furnished the meat for the joyful meal (peace-offerings and thank-offerings) were expressive of fellow-

ship, human and divine, and characterized the celebration of the harvest festivals—the Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles. But the offerings in which the sacrificial animal was entirely burned upon the altar or fell to the priests (whole burnt-offering, trespass offering, sin offering) were more expressive of guilt and propitiatory in character. While the former types of sacrifice still retained their place, it is the latter type that come into prominence during this period, culminating in the elaborate ritual of the Day of Atonement (Lev 16), and expressing the deepened consciousness of guilt and separation from God.

The point that the development of the priesthood reaches in this period is another instance of the tendency of the Law to set up barriers. Step by step the elimination proceeded, separating the Jew from the Gentile, the man from the woman, the Levite from the layman, the priest from the Levite, and the high priest from the priest. The ground plan of Herod's Temple in Jerusalem, built with the view of embodying priestly legislation, illustrates the social ideals as to class spirit which the dominance of the Law inculcated. The "Court of the Gentiles" was the limit of the non-Jew, the "Court of the Women" the limit of the Jewish woman, the "Court of the Men of Israel" the limit of the Jewish layman, the "Court of the Priests" the limit of the Levites, the "Holy Place" the limit of the priests, and the "Holy of Holies" accessible only to the high priest. The contrast between these priestly ideals and those of the prophets (Section 205), is most striking; and the evident justification for their promulgation is the self-preservation of Judaism and their temporary pedagogic purpose to lead to nobler and higher ideals (confer Gal 3. 24; Heb 10. 1-24).

239. Protests against Particularism. That this narrowing of the Jewish horizon did not proceed without protest on the part of some who had come under the spell of prophetic ideals is evident from the purpose of two

literary products of this period—the books of Ruth and Jonah.

Among the various suggestions as to the probable object of the book of Ruth the one that still rightly finds most favor is that which regards it as a protest against the crusade forbidding intermarriages with other races inaugurated by Nehemiah and Ezra and embodied in the Priestly Law. Its lesson thus conceived is that if Ruth the Moabitess by her marriage with Boaz could become the chosen vessel to contribute the lineage from which sprang the illustrious King David, it cannot be such a great sin to marry a Moabite or Ammonite wife. Ruth

The central thought of the book of Jonah is God's interest in the repentance and welfare of those living outside the narrow pale of Judaism. Jonah, who, rather than give the wicked Ninevites a chance to repent, runs away from his commission, and who is angry when they escape divine judgment (4. 1f.), is the type of the narrow Jew who, by ill treatment from the hands of wicked Gentiles, has come to regard them only with hatred. But the lesson of the book is that Jehovah pities Gentiles as much as Jews, and is as glad to forgive them, if they turn from evil. It is a prophet's voice in the wilderness of narrow legalism, declaring, Jonah

> "There's a wideness in God's mercy,
> Like the wideness of the sea; . . .
> There is welcome for the sinner,"

and that it is Israel's mission to announce it to the world.

240. **The Jewish Piety of the Psalms.** The book of Psalms has been called the "hymn book of the second temple." This designation is correct in so far as it brings to notice that it was during the reorganization of the temple service in the Persian period that provision was made for the service of song in the public worship, leading to the appointment of Levitical singers, composed of men and

women, formed into choirs, and the composition and collection of psalms (Ezra 2. 41; Neh 7. 44). All this activity the Chronicler has with his characteristic tendency to idealization pushed away back into the period of David (1 Chron 25. 1-8); but, as we have had occasion to notice before, the Chronicler is better authority for the time in which he writes than of the time of which he writes. It is, therefore, to this period that we must look for the first attempt at a collection of sacred songs. Not that all of the psalms originated at this time; some of them are earlier and some of them later; but the bulk of them is the product of this age.

It is not always easy to decide whether the psalmist speaks for himself as an individual or as representing his nation; or, in other words, whether the "I" and "my" of the Psalms are to be taken individually or collectively; compare, for instance, Psa 25. 7; 71. 5, 17 with 129. 1. But in either case the sentiment expressed reflects the thought of this period and is of great historical value, for we get glimpses, as it were, into the very heart of the community; and there is no surer sign of the character of a people than the songs they habitually sing.

The best evidence of the depth of spiritual feeling of the Psalms is that they have ever been the favorite source of devotion of the Jewish and Christian churches, and whether in joy or sorrow, in need of petition or thanksgiving, the pious individual has ever found in them a ready and most beautiful expression of his feelings and aspirations. Of course, not all the psalms occupy the same moral and spiritual height. Thus, for instance, the so-called "Imprecatory Psalms" (52; 58; 69; 109), breathing forth the spirit of vengeance, have long been felt as inappropriate to the followers of Him who prayed for forgiveness for his enemies; and consequently John Wesley omitted them from his Select Psalms, to be read in the churches.

On the whole, the Psalms express religious ideals in which

the temple with its ritual and the Law occupy a most prominent place. The temple is Jehovah's dwelling place whence he answers prayer (3. 4; 28. 2; 132. 13f.); the pious Israelite longs for the temple and its services (42f.; 84. 10; 27. 4); many of the psalms are associated with festivals and ritual acts, particularly with the votive offerings (116, note vv. 13; 17-19); and the Law is highly exalted (78. 1, 5, 10; 119). At the same time, some of the psalms also express the broader, later idea of God's dwelling place in the heavens (20. 6; 2. 4; 11. 4); the prophetic ideas of the nearness of God in the consciousness of the faithful (16. 8, 11; 23); and the secondary value of sacrifices (4. 5; 4. 6-8; 51. 16f.). The Psalms, it thus appears, are a combination of both priestly and prophetic ideals; they are expressive of a warm practical piety which easily overcomes theological contradictions; and it is that very nature which has won for them such universal favor.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Study the passages relating to the religious conceptions under the Law and note wherein the priestly conceptions differ from the prophetic.

2. Read Exod 25 to 31, P's account of the tabernacle, with the use of the headings and note with what elaboration it is described.

3. Read Lev 1 to 7, with the use of the headings, for a description of the various kinds of offerings. Consult Dictionary of the Bible, article "Sacrifices and Offerings."

4. Read Lev 8 to 10 for the light it throws on the character and functions of the priesthood and compare the underlying social ideals of the priest and the prophet.

5. Read the book of Ruth and consider whether it is a protest against priestly particularism.

6. Read the book of Jonah and consider its message in the interest of universal brotherhood.

7. Consider the book of Psalms as a hymn book, like our own, with contributions of various authors of various times, and obtain a general idea of its contents by noting the headings.

CHAPTER XIII

JUDAISM IN CONTACT WITH HELLENISM

(The Greek Period, 333-175 B. C.)

1. The Political Events

241. General Character of the Greek Period. The century and a half that lies between Alexander the Great and the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes is not distinguished for political events in which the Jews acted independently, but its intellectual, moral, and religious effect was very marked. This accounts for the fact that the biblical sources furnish no political data for the period, while the character of the Wisdom Literature, the product of this age, reveals the change in Jewish thought.

242. Effects of the Conquest of Alexander the Great. The battle of Issus (333), in which Alexander won his great victory over Darius III, brought to the Jews the change from Persian to Greek rule. Alexander came into Syria, took Damascus and Sidon, and laid siege to Tyre, which after some resistance also fell into his hands. He then came to Gaza and besieged it. During this siege, according to Josephus (Antiquities, xi, 8. 4-7), whose story is greatly embellished, Alexander paid a visit to Jerusalem. The Jews were terrified at his approach, but he treated them most generously, granting them absolute religious freedom and the remission of tribute during the sabbatical years, and by the promise of special favors induced many Jews to join his army of conquest. The Samaritans, who found it serviceable to confess themselves as Jews, were

also treated with favor. Alexander's conquest of Egypt and the founding of the city of Alexandria were political movements of considerable importance to the Jews. The new city was located on the Mediterranean and connected by a canal with the Nile, thus situated most advantageously for commercial enterprise. Offering the Jews civil and religious liberty, many of them accepted Alexander's inducements and settled there, sharing first in its establishment and later in its extraordinary culture, wealth, and distinction.

243. **The Conditions Under the Seleucids.** Upon the death of Alexander (323), when his empire was divided among his generals and successors, the Diadochoi, Egypt, fell to Ptolemy and Syria to Antigonus. But this partition of the empire was not stable; and Syria, as in former times, became the bone of contention between two rival parties. During the first forty years of this period it changed masters no fewer than eight times, belonging first to the Seleucids of Syria and then again to the Ptolemies of Egypt.

Seleucus I divided the Syrian part of his dominion into four districts, Coele-Syria, in the narrower sense; Phœnicia, including the coast lands; Samaria, and Idumæa. Judæa was a part of the last district. The Jews had to pay an annual tribute of 300 talents (about $80,000), for which the high priest was responsible. They were allowed their own civil and religious government, of which the high priest was the head, supported by the "assembly of the elders," which, upon the suggestion of their Greek overlord, was changed, in conformity with Greek city organizations, into an aristocratic senate. The condition of the Jews was at this time favorable; the king, who founded the city of Antioch in 300 B. C., sought to gain Jewish citizens for it by offering them privileges equal to Macedonians and Greeks in the new metropolis (Antiquities, xii, 3. 1). Josephus narrates the capture of Jerusalem by Ptolemy I

in 320 B. C. (Antiquities, xii, 1), when he suddenly came upon it on a Sabbath day, taking advantage of the fact that the Jews would not fight on that day. Many of the Jews were carried into Egypt; and later on the king persuaded many others to settle there. It would appear from the efforts that these rivals made to obtain them that Jewish citizens proved desirable accessions.

244. The Conditions Under the Ptolemies. With the beginning of the more permanent rule of the Ptolemies (cir. 280) Palestine assumed the character of a strongly fortified province. The old fortifications were strengthened and new ones built; and Greek mercenaries were met with in every direction who were under the general command of a military governor. But the Jewish government remained the same as under the Seleucids. Ptolemy II (Philadelphus, 285-246) treated his Jewish subjects with evident favor. Josephus (Antiquities, xii, 2) ascribes to him the liberation of a large number of them who were held as slaves in his dominion. He also took steps to bring about the translation of the Jewish scriptures into Greek, which from the legend that it was done by seventy translators came to be called the Septuagint (LXX), or "Seventy."

The condition of the Jews under Ptolemy III (Euergetes, 246-221) is illustrated by an interesting story of Josephus (Antiquities, xii, 4): The high priest Onias II failed to pay the tribute due to the Egyptian king, who threatened the Jews with severe punishment. A young adventurer, Joseph, who was the nephew of the high priest, succeeded by flattery and intrigue in winning the favor of the king and the right to collect the taxes, which was let out to the highest bidder. Aided by a bodyguard of two thousand Egyptian soldiers, he started to collect the taxes. Two of the cities, Askalon and Scycopolis, which refused his unreasonable demands, he punished by executing twenty of their chief men. Thus he broke down all opposition, and succeeded

in obtaining twice the amount of the usual tribute; and securing for himself, at the expense of the population, not only the favor of the king but personal wealth. For twenty-two years he thus practiced extortion, and spent his wealth in immoral and riotous living. His illegitimate son, Hyrcanus, followed in his father's steps, building himself a strong castle near Heshbon, and plundering the east Jordan province, until called to account by Antiochus IV, when he committed suicide (175 B. C.).

That one family could exert such pernicious power shows that the Egyptian rulers of the Jews cared only that their tribute was paid, and that the local government of the high priests was weak. With Ptolemy IV (Philopator, 221-204) the decline of the Ptolemies in Syria begins. He was dissolute and feeble. Third Maccabees tells of his attempt to enter the Holy of Holies of the temple of Jerusalem, from which he was hindered by divine interposition, and of his consequent attempt to slay all the Jews of Alexandria, also divinely prevented; but the story is obviously legendary, and whether there is in it even a kernel of truth it is difficult to say.

245. The Syrian Conquest of Palestine. The Seleucids were watchful of their opportunity to get control of Syria; and it came with the rise of the energetic Antiochus III (224-187), called the Great, who after a defeat succeeded in wresting Syria and Palestine from the Ptolemies in a battle at the sources of the Jordan (Banias) in 198 B. C. (Antiquities xii, 3. 3f.).

The Jews were glad of the change of masters, and when Antiochus came to Jerusalem they gave him ready assistance to drive out the Egyptians from the citadel, for which he in return generously rewarded them. It appears from the account of Josephus that the Syrian king was very considerate to their religious views, not only allowing them to follow their law, but compelling others to respect it. The king also aided, with his own advantage in view, the immi-

gration of two thousand Jewish families from Babylonia and their settlement in Phrygia, providing them with the necessary means until they could be self-supporting.

Seleucus IV (Philopator, 187-175), son and successor of Antiochus the Great, is reported (2 Macc 3) to have sent Heliodorus, his chancellor, to plunder the temple treasury of Jerusalem, which sacrilege was divinely prevented: "For there was seen by them a horse with a terrible rider upon him, and adorned with beautiful trappings, and he rushed fiercely and smote at Heliodorus with his forefeet, and it seemed that he that sat upon the horse had complete armor of gold" (v. 25). The legendary character of the account, which has been beautifully represented by one of Rafael's paintings in the Vatican, is quite obvious; but that it might rest upon fact is seen when we consider that the Syrians were hard pressed for funds to carry on their warfare, and that Antiochus the Great had met his death in the attempt to rob a temple treasure at Elymais, at the head of the Persian Gulf.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Consider that for the information on the political history of the Greek Period we are dependent on extra-biblical sources, chiefly Josephus (see Section 12) and be sure to read the references given.
2. Consider the effect of the conquests of Alexander the Great on the condition of the Jews and read Josephus' story of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem.
3. Read the references to Josephus and note the condition of the Jews under the Seleucids.
4. Read the references to Josephus and consider the condition of the Jews under the Ptolemies.
5. Read the references to Josephus and to Second Maccabees and note the Syrian conquest of Palestine.

2. The Literature of the Greek Period

Zech 9 to 14

246. The Prophetic Literature. Internal evidence favors the view that the second half of the book of Zechariah

reflects the Greek period. The occasion of 9. 1-10 was Alexander's victory at Issus, which might reawaken hopes of complete restoration and Messianic expectations; 9. 11 to 11. 3, with its promise of freedom and prosperity and the restoration of the Jews to their country from Assyria and Egypt, point to the period of dispersion, even if the reference to "Greece" (9. 13) be regarded as an interpolation, and might well fit the reign of Ptolemy III; while 11. 4-17 with 13. 7-9, directed against the shepherds who are intent only to fatten themselves on their flock, and 12. 1 to 13. 6 and ch. 14, holding forth the hope of the bright future of Judah and Jerusalem, with a strong emphasis upon priestly ideals (14. 16-21), indicate a time when oppression was looked for to give way to a reign of holy peace.

Isa 24 to 27

These chapters picture a universal judgment and have rightly been called an apocalypse. Jehovah punishes the inhabitants of the earth for their sins (24. 1-20); the kingdom of God is revealed and unites all peoples upon Mount Zion (24. 21 to 25. 12); there is joy over Jehovah's help and the hope of divine retribution (ch. 26); and upon the destruction of the empires of the world follows the gathering of Israel from all corners of the earth (ch. 27). The general form in which this prophetic message is presented and the character of its contents both point to a late post-exilic period, and particularly the Greek age, when the Jews had occasion to look broadly upon the world as its enemy, appears the most appropriate historical background.

It is probably during this period that the writings of the prophets were finally collected and formed into the second part of the canon of the Hebrew Bible—the Prophets. And it appears reasonable that this final editing was the occasion of the insertion of those shorter and longer portions of the pre-exilic prophetic books which are so evidently post-exilic in tone; as, for instance, Amos 9. 8-15;

Isa 11. 10 to 12. 6; 34f.; Mic 7. 7-20; Jer 10. 1-16, 25; and other passages.

247. The Chronicler's Ecclesiastical History. The books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah constitute one work, as has already been pointed out (Section 7, Paragraph 6). That it is the product of the Greek age is clear from the fact that it includes in its list of high priests the name of Jaddua (Neh 12. 11, 22), who was the high priest at the time of Alexander the Great. This work is the embodiment of the priestly conception of the course of Hebrew history as viewed from the last stage of its development. It was conceived about a century after the Priests' Code had become the rule of conduct in the Jewish community. Its point of view is the same, only that it carries it farther down as to time, and it is responsible for the view of Hebrew history that has prevailed up within recent times. It is of exceeding value for the time in which it was written, for as we read the Chronicler's idealization of the past we obtain light upon the conditions and ideals that existed in his own day. The Levitical interests are in the foreground: the Law, the temple service, and Jewish holiness by separation are the central ideas of the theocracy which he represents. The lessons that he illustrates by his method of history are: God's purposes in history are religious and moral; God manifests his interest in the course of history by working wonders for his people; and the course of history reveals divine judgments. The Chronicler's work is thus of great service for the purpose of illustrating religious and moral lessons.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Read Zech 9 to 14, mark the sections in your Bible, and consider the light the messages throw on Jewish conditions during the Greek Period.

2. Read Isa 24 to 27 in like manner.

3. Look up the passages in the prophetic books regarded as post-exilic and consider their tone and outlook.

4. Obtain a general view of the contents of Chronicles by surveying it with the aid of the headings and note on what phases of Hebrew history emphasis is put.

3. The Wisdom Literature and Its Ideals

248. The Wisdom Literature. As one of the results of Jewish intercourse with a wider world and the conflicts it brought them we must consider the rise and development of thought embodied in the Wisdom Literature. One specimen of it we have already considered in the book of Job (Section 236). The contact with the Greeks had a stimulating effect upon Jewish thinking; but it produced not philosophy in the Greek sense, but a type peculiar to the Jewish genius for religion: an attempt at a complete and consistent religious conception of the world, and particularly in its application to the practical needs of the individual's life (Section 10). Its motto was, "The fear of Jehovah is the beginning of wisdom"; that is, Faith in the providence of God and obedience to his will, the basis of a well-ordered moral life. In a somewhat more speculative sense wisdom meant the ability to solve the riddles of human existence and act correspondingly. Now that prophecy had ceased, the dominance of the Law produced two new functions: the interpreter of the Law, the scribe, and the interpreter of life, the sage; and it was the mission of the latter to teach "wisdom."

249. The Book of Proverbs. A glance at the subheadings of the book of Proverbs (10. 1; 24. 23; 25. 1; 30. 1; 31. 1) reveals at once that it is not so much the work of a single author as a collection of contributions on a similar subject by various authors. Neither is it to be supposed that they all originated at the same time, but, rather, that they are the products of several centuries, covering the Greek and Persian periods, and extending in simpler collections even farther back. But while some of

the aphorisms are so general as to be timeless, there are others that reveal clearly the divers and cosmopolitan life of the Greek period. There are, for instance, in the collection three long sections (5; 6. 20-35; 7) which deal with the dangers of the unchaste life, and in other sections there are references to the same subject, connected with drunkenness and debauchery (23. 26-35; 31. 1-9), all of them representing the temptations to social vice frequent in city life. Of similar character are the repeated warnings against evil companions (1. 8-19; 22. 24f.; 4. 10-19; compare Psa 1. 1) who seek to prosper by deeds of violence. The praise of wisdom (3. 13-26) and the striking contrasts between wisdom and folly (ch. 9) seek to glorify virtue and debase vice. The purpose of the whole is to inculcate the chief social virtues, such as industry, thrift, discretion, honesty, chastity, and kindness.

250. The Book of Ecclesiasticus. As throwing light upon the life and thought of the Greek period of unsurpassed value is the work of Jesus, the son of Sirach (Ben-Sira), called Ecclesiasticus, or The Wisdom of Jesus, the son of Sirach, placed among the Apocrypha. The author was a native of Jerusalem, who lived most probably in the time of the high priesthood of Simon II (cir. 218-198 B. C.); he had traveled considerably, was a thoughtful observer and good judge of human nature, and he wrote his observations and the philosophic meditations resulting from them for the instruction of others. His work is closely related to the book of Proverbs both in form and content, and it might well be regarded as the evolution of the essay out of the proverb. Its high ethical tone has given it great esteem in the Jewish and Christian churches, who have regarded it as Scripture. The latter expressed its esteem of the book by calling it Ecclesiasticus, that is, the "Church Book." Within recent times it was known only in the translations from the original Hebrew; but since 1896 fragments of the original Hebrew text have been found in

Egypt, covering nearly one half of the book, adding a new zest to its study.

Its contents in broad outlines are: 1. Prologue by the grandson of the author, who translated the work into Greek (cir. 135 B. C.). 2. The essence of Wisdom and its practical ends (1-16. 23). 3. God in creation and man's relation to him (16. 24 to 23. 27). 4. Wisdom and the Law (24. 1 to 33. 18). 5. Man's righteousness (33. 19 to 36. 17). 6. Precepts for social life (36. 18 to 39. 11). 7. The creation and man's place in it (39. 12 to 42. 14). 8. Praise to God for the creation and the history of Israel, in which its leaders are briefly characterized, including the high priest of the author's own time (42. 15 to 50. 29). 9. A prayer, a psalm, and a poem (51. 1-30). It will be observed that Ecclesiasticus is more systematic and comprehensive than Proverbs. It deals in general with the same moral qualities, but goes more into detail in the treatment of social relations, and it is quite evident that the author intended that his treatise should be a sort of textbook for the guidance of the people of his time in the various circumstances of life.

251. The Book of Ecclesiastes. The author of Ecclesiastes was most probably a somewhat earlier contemporary of Ben-Sira; but instead of writing in his own name he preferred to put his thoughts and experiences in the mouth of King Solomon, who had by this time become idealized into a paragon of wisdom; but the language and subject-matter leave it beyond reasonable doubt that we have here a product of the Greek age and the problems the thoughtful Jew of this time had to face.

Influenced by the Greek spirit of inquiry and seeing the inequalities of life, he expresses his general conclusion by the exclamation: "Vanity of vanities, says Ecclesiastes, vanity of vanities, all is vanity! What result has man from all his effort under the sun? . . . There is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink, and

enjoy himself in his effort" (1. 2f., 24). But this pessimism and epicureanism, though extensively carried through the entire book, is not the ultimate conclusion of the author. It is true that he pictures fully and feels intensely the evident injustices of life; but it does not lead him to give up his faith in God or the moral order of the world. God has made the world good, but man makes it bad. God's ways are unfathomable, but he is nevertheless just. Man is helpless over against the regular and monotonous world order. The best thing for him to do in an evil time is to take the evil with patience as a providence of God, enjoy the good gifts of God, and remember that he is responsible to God. The book is thus the product of the Old Testament religion; and in spite of a pessimistic outlook holds fast to faith in God. It should be observed, however, that some scholars hold that the book is not a unit, but that the pessimistic element has been counteracted by later additions expressing a more religious attitude.

252. The Psalms of Reflection. Similar in tone and content to the Wisdom Literature are the psalms containing reflections on the moral order of the world: 9-11; 14; 36f.; 39; 49; 52; 62; 73; 75; 82; 92; 104; 139. When read in the light of the historical conditions of the Persian and Greek periods they reveal the same struggles of faith, the dark outlook, and the sufferings of the righteous, but also the same high ethical ideals and spiritual hopes.

253. The Religious, Moral, and Social Ideals of the Wisdom Literature. It is evident that the sages formed a distinct class of religious teachers differing from the prophet, the priest, or scribe. The difference from the prophet is obvious, for the sage is clearly the product of the priestly period. He originated with the emphasis upon the Law, which in its many-sidedness called for differences of accent; to the priest fell the ritual and liturgical aspects; to the scribe, legal aspects; but to the sage, the moral aspects of universal truth.

The religion of the sage as compared with that of the prophet lacks spiritual warmth; he betrays nothing of the consciousness of the nearness of God which is so characteristic of the prophet. He is in this respect like the priest, localizing the Deity in the sanctuary (Ecclus 24. 10), but otherwise conceiving of him as enthroned in the distant heaven as the sole agent in the control of the world (Job 22. 12ff.; Eccl 5. 2; Psa 11. 4). The sages have very little to say of ritualism; they take religious customs for granted, recognize the propriety of observing them, but, like the prophets, they do not regard them as of value as moral principle.

The most striking characteristic of the sages is their moral emphasis; they bring the ethical ideals of the Old Testament to the highest point of development, and they aim to contribute to the establishment of a safe, peaceful, happy social life, in the family and the community. They not only seek to show the wickedness and folly of the coarser violations of the ethical demands of the Decalogue, as perjury, theft, robbery, and murder; or the excellence of justice in the courts of law and honesty and truthfulness in business life; but the finer virtues, if we may so distinguish them, are inculcated, as: modesty (Prov 11. 2; Ecclus 3. 17, 18, 20); self-control (Prov 14. 29; 16. 32; Eccl 7. 9; Ecclus 22. 27 to 23. 6); industry over against sloth (Prov 6. 6-11; Ecclus 22. 1f.); temperance in eating and drinking (Prov 23.20; Ecclus 18. 30 to 19); avoidance of slander, gossip, and the unbridled use of the tongue (Prov 6. 12-16, 19; Ecclus 5. 11 to 6. 1; 28. 13-26); chastity (Prov 23. 26f.; Ecclus 18. 30 to 19. 3); considerateness toward the poor and needy (Prov 22. 2; Ecclus 7. 32-36); kindness and love, even to an enemy; over against revenge (Prov 10. 12; 17. 9; 24. 17f.; 3. 3; 12. 10); forgiveness (Ecclus 28. 2); and returning goodness for evil (Prov 25. 21f.). The family ideals are very high; monogamy seems to be assumed; and woman as wife, mother, and

housewife is held in highest honor, and shares it equally with man (Prov 31. 10-31).

4. Secular Poetry and the Influence of Hellenism

254. The Song of Solomon. After centuries of endeavor to find the origin and meaning of this rather strange book, opinions are gradually crystallizing into the view that the book is composed of a number of lyrics whose object was to sing the song of human love. The language of the book points clearly to a Persian or a Greek age. Attention has been called to the rather striking similarities between these lyrics and those of the Greek author Theocritus, who wrote about 250 B. C. If such a dependence were certain, it would aid the determining of the dates of the lyrics. But we cannot be far astray, if we regard them as the product of the Greek age; and see in them another effect of Greek environment upon the Jewish mind, expressing itself in its own way.

255. The Influence of Hellenism. The policy of Alexander the Great and his successors to bring eastern and western civilization together, had its marked effect upon the Jews. In Palestine Greek cities had sprung up both on the east and west sides of the Jordan: Hippos, Gadara, Pella, Gerasa, Philadelphia, Samaria, Ptolemais, Apollonia, Joppa, Askelon, Ashdod, and Gaza constituted a girdle of Hellenistic cities encircling the whole of Palestine. Everywhere in his own land the Jew met the Greek language, Greek art and architecture, Greek dress, customs, and thought. Outside of Palestine in the so-called Dispersion, whether in Egypt, Syria, Phrygia, or elsewhere, he was thus equally enveloped in Greek spirit. He learned to speak Greek; his Scriptures had been translated into Greek; and he learned to read not only his own Scriptures but other literature in Greek and to think Greek thoughts. Whether he would or not he found himself surrounded by the subtle and fascinating Greek influence.

But the effect varied and produced a threefold attitude. One class, known as the Chasidim, or "Pious," regarded Greek contact as contaminating; they were the true successors of Nehemiah and Ezra the scribe of the Law; they believed it to be their duty to build a fence around the Law and themselves; and the effect Greek contact had on them was to make them all the more exclusive. The second class was more liberal and was represented by such man as Ben-Sira, the author of Ecclesiasticus. They allowed Greek influence to broaden their horizon and from a new point of view to discuss their problems. But, while they adopted Greek forms and ideas, they remained still Jews, conscious of their priceless religion and moral heritage, and true to Jewish faith and morals, but giving new expression to them. There was, however, a third class, which openly abandoned Judaism, like Joseph the taxgatherer, and learned to practice none of the virtues but all of the vices of Greek heathenism. The last class was dangerously growing, and it brought to Judaism the crisis of its very existence.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Consider the general character of the Wisdom Literature and its origin.

2. Obtain a general view of the contents of the book of Proverbs by means of the headings. Study the references given and note its main teachings.

3. Read the book of Ecclesiasticus in the Apocrypha with the aid of the outline given in the textbook and note its moral and religious teachings.

4. Read the book of Ecclesiastes with the aid of the headings, note its general tone and consider it in the light of its historical origin.

5. Note well the high ideals of the Sage and compare them with those of the priests and prophets.

6. Consider the character of the Song of Solomon, reading selections with the aid of the headings and compare it with Psalm 45, noting the heading.

7. Consider the varied influence of Hellenism on Judaism.

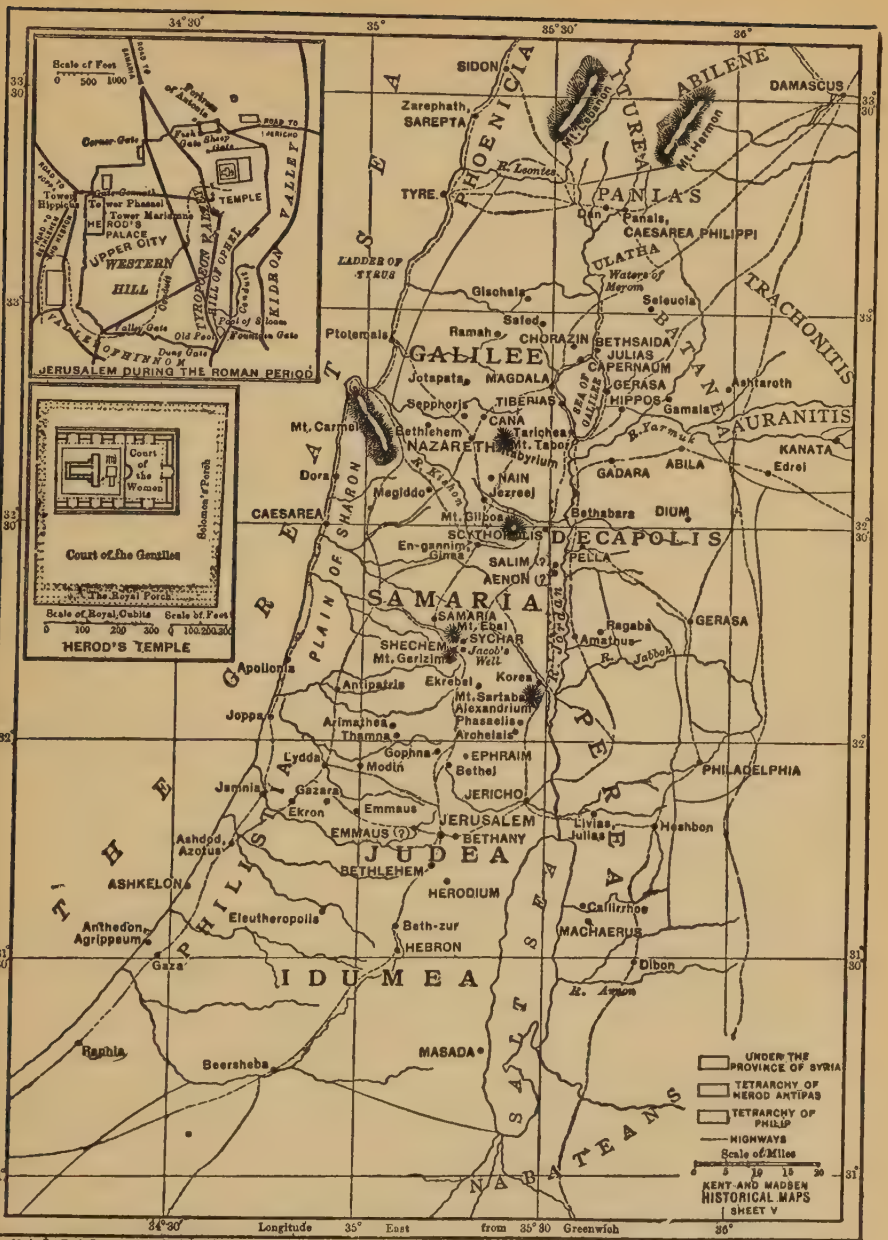
CHAPTER XIV

JUDAISM IN CONFLICT WITH HELLENISM

(The Maccabean Period, 175-63 B. C.)

1. The Crisis of Judaism

256. The Biblical Sources. As an indication of the epoch-making influence upon Jewish history of this period, is the fact that we now again come upon considerable biblical literature which furnishes us with historical data, namely, the book of Daniel, and First and Second Maccabees. The book of Daniel records the experiences of Daniel and three other youthful Hebrews who were carried captive by Nebuchadrezzar to Babylon in 597 (Dan 1 to 6), and of the visions which Daniel saw (7 to 12). But it has become generally evident that that is only a literary form, peculiar to apocalyptic literature, of which this book is one of the best illustrations. The internal evidence which the book presents for its origin during the period now under consideration is briefly stated: Chapter 11. 5-20 is a brief but correct synopsis of the history of the Ptolemies and Seleucids, and 21-39 a detailed account of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes and his persecution of the Jews on account of their religion. With this as a certain starting point it becomes clear that 8. 9-14, 23-26; 7. 8, 19-27; 2. 31-34, 40-43 are concerned with the reigns of the Diadochoi and chiefly with Antiochus Epiphanes, in whom the author's interest centered and culminated. Now, it is historically more probable that the author lived in the time of which he writes than that he should know and write of it four centuries in advance of the events. Taking, then, the



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PALESTINE DURING THE GREEK AND ROMAN PERIODS

book as produced in this period, it becomes a valuable source for the history of the period. First Maccabees is a source of highest value for the period from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes to the death of the high priest Simon, that is, from 175 to 135 B. C. Second Maccabees consists of different elements: 1 to 2. 18, contain two letters concerning the feast of Dedication, of altogether doubtful authenticity; these are followed by the author's preface to his history, stating that his work is an abridgment of the five books of Jason of Cyrene (2. 18-32); chs. 3 to 15 deal with the period from Seleucus IV to the death of Nicanor, that is, from 187-161 B. C., starting thus earlier than First Maccabees, and continuing only as far as 1 Macc 7. 50. But while treating of the same events, the historical value is far inferior; the author evidently writes mainly for religious edification; but he nevertheless throws an interesting light upon the period.

257. Antiochus Epiphanes. If the process of Hellenization had been allowed to have its natural flow, the probabilities are that Judaism would not have become the only exception to succumb to it. But as it happened, the very attempt to hasten the process resulted in a revolt that saved Judaism, and gave it a new force and growth. The chief agent to bring about this result was Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 B. C.). He was the son of Antiochus the Great and the successor of his brother Seleucus IV, and of such erratic temperament that his appellative Epiphanes, the "Illustrious," was changed into Epimanes, the "Madman." His desire for spreading Hellenic culture was most inordinate; and when the Romans had balked him in effort to subdue Egypt he returned to Syria to vent his chagrin upon the Jews in the effort of forcing them into Greek life and religion.

258. The Hellenistic Jewish High Priests. Antiochus was aided in his endeavor by the high priests who were his own appointees. Since the Persian period the high priest

had become the civil as well as the religious head of the Jewish community; and though the *Gerousia,* a senate of elders, shared his authority, he was personally responsible for the payment of the taxes, which made the office one of dependence upon the foreign ruler. It was this relation between high priest and king—the temptation to designing and unscrupulous men to buy the king's favors and yield to his wishes—that helped to bring about the crisis of Judaism through Antiochus Epiphanes.

The high priests up to this time had been faithful to their trust as guardians of the Law and proud and zealous defenders of their ancestral religion. Ben-Sira could sing
Eccius 50. 1–29 the praises of the high priest Simon II, who "in his days strengthened the temple." His successor Onias III, who was the high priest when Antiochus Epiphanes came upon the throne, evidently belonged to the same pious party. But the unscrupulous element of the Hellenistic party, represented by the family of Joseph the taxgatherer, had by now grown sufficiently strong to make the effort to get
2 Macc 4. 7–50 the high priesthood under their control. Evidently aided by them (confer Josephus, Antiquities xii, 5. 1), Jason succeeded in getting Onias III deposed and himself appointed in his place. All this was accomplished by the gift of large sums of money to the king with the promise to aid him in Hellenizing Jerusalem. A Greek gymnasium was built in Jerusalem; the priests neglected the temple services to attend the games; and the high priest even sent three hundred drachmas of silver to Tyre for a sacrifice to Hercules. After three years a certain Menelaus succeeded in supplanting Jason by larger gifts to the king. Menelaus showed even greater zeal to forward the Hellenizing of the Jews, and even conspired to have Onias murdered, because he had rebuked his ungodly zeal in the interest of the foreign customs (confer Dan 9. 26; 11. 22).

1 Macc 1
2 Macc 5. 1 to 6. 11

259. The Religious Persecutions. Taking occasion in the strife between Jason and Menelaus, Antiochus Epiph-

anes, on his return from Egypt (170 B. C.), came with his army against Jerusalem, slew thousands of Jews, and plundered the rich treasures of the temple. Two years later (168) he came again on his return from Egypt, after the Roman general had drawn a circle around him, and bade him to submit to the Senate's decision to give up the conquest of Egypt or take the consequences, and to make up his mind before he stepped out of the circle. He decided to yield, but he made the Jews suffer for the rancor of his soul. It appears that nothing short of the total abolition of the Jewish religion was planned. The three most distinctive features of Judaism, circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath day, and abstinence from the eating of swine's flesh, were absolutely prohibited on the pains of death. Antiochus appointed the chief fiscal agent, Appolonius, to carry out the plan. His orders were that Jerusalem should be made a Greek city. With view to these innovations, the city should be strongly fortified by the building of a citadel; the inhabitants that would not yield should be strenuously dealt with: the men killed, women and children sold as slaves, and Greeks brought in to take their places. The climax of the program was reached with the building of an altar to the Olympic Zeus on the site of the Hebrew altar; and on the 25th of Kislev, December, 168 B. C., the first sacrifice of a swine was offered within the sacred precincts of the temple of Jerusalem, the act being called by the pious "the abomination of desolation" (Dan 11. 31; 12. 11; compare Mark 13. 14).

260. The Jewish Martyrs. It was now that Jewish faith and morals were put to a bitter test, but came forth most glorious victors. The martyr stories of this time read like Foxe's Book of Martyrs, and they portray as noble a religious heroism as the best in early church or Reformation history. The author of Second Maccabees furnishes us with two of these stories of the aged Eleazar, and of the mother and her seven sons, all of whom most

2 Macc 6. 12 to 7. 42

heroically suffered tortures and death rather than even by dissimulation betray their faith. It is evident that the heathen worship involved licentious and immoral practices (2 Macc 6. 4) as formerly that of Baalism, and that the Jewish champions defended social purity as well as religious faith.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Consider the date of the writing of the book of Daniel and its character as a source of history.
2. Obtain a general view of the contents of First and Second Maccabees and compare their value as historical sources.
3. Consider the purpose of Antiochus Epiphanes and account for the willing cooperation of the Jewish high priests. Look up the references.
4. Read the accounts of the religious persecutions and of the Jewish martyrs and note the Jewish religious enthusiasm.

2. The Book of Daniel

261. The Origin and Content of the Book. It was out of this period of religious persecution that the book of Daniel came with its mission to aid the faithful in their conflict. It is an apocalypse, which means a "revelation." The characteristic of this form of prophecy is that the author views his own time from a distance; it represents a crisis in history. The description is highly symbolic; it predicts the overthrow of the ungodly and the victory of the righteous, and its purpose is to encourage those who are being tried by persecution. The discovery of the nature of this species of biblical literature has thrown a flood of light upon the understanding of the book of Daniel, and when read in the light of the persecutions under Antiochus Epiphanes the essential features of the book become perfectly intelligible. Its two central thoughts are: (1) God will rescue and reward those who refuse to yield to the temptation to deny their Jewish faith by defiling themselves with eating forbidden food or worshiping heathen

gods; and (2) the power of Antiochus Epiphanes will be broken, and the kingdom of God established. The first thought is illustrated by the story of Daniel and the three young Hebrew captives who thrive by abstaining from the defiling food of the king's table and live on herbs and water (Dan 1); by the story of Daniel's superior wisdom by which he announces the successive rise and fall of four world empires—the Babylonian, the Median, the Persian, and the Greek—and their overthrow by the coming kingdom of God, and by the stories of the deliverance of the three youths from the fiery furnace and of Daniel from the lions' den, and the humiliation of the powerful king (chs. 3 to 6). The second thought is illustrated by a series of four visions in which the dream of chapter 2 is developed. Under the symbols of "four beasts" the "ancient of days," and the "son of man," Jewish history is traced through the Babylonian, Median, Persian, and Greek periods, culminating in the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes, to be superseded by the establishment of the kingdom of God through the agency of a heavenly messenger, the guardian angel of Israel (ch. 7). A second vision under the symbols of a ram with two horns and a he-goat with a succession of horns, describes the overthrow of the Median and Persian empires by Alexander the Great, the rise of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the desecration of the temple, lasting a limited time (ch. 8). A third vision aims to explain Jeremiah's perplexing prediction of the seventy years of captivity by taking the seventy years to represent seventy weeks of years, that is, four hundred and ninety years. The outlook again culminates in the time of stress of Antiochus Epiphanes, when the daily sacrifices cease and the altar to Zeus is erected, followed by the establishment of the kingdom of God (ch. 9). The fourth vision (chs. 10 to 12) is virtually a survey of the history from Alexander to Antiochus Epiphanes, without names and dates, which when these are supplied, becomes a very valuable historical

document. After an elaborate introduction describing the information is revealed (10. 1 to 11. 1), the hist begins with the conquest of Persia by Alexander and t division of his empire into four parts after his death (11 2-4). Hints are given of the relations of the Ptolemies and Seleucids, mentioned as kings of the south (Egypt) and north (Syria) respectively. Verse 5 refers to Ptolemy I and his subordinate Seleucus I; v. 6, to the marriage of Antiochus II to Bernice, daughter of Ptolemy II, and the alliance which was the result, but which failed of its purpose because Antiochus II was poisoned by his former wife, and Bernice and her child and adherents murdered. Verses 7-9 relate to the successes of Ptolemy III, brother of Bernice, against Seleucus; vv. 10-19 give the history of Antiochus the Great, with allusions to his defeat at Raphia, his victory at Banias, the favor with which the Jews regarded him, and the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy V to obtain control of Egypt, his defeat by the Romans, and his violent death. Verse 20 relates to Seleucus IV, whose death was the result of a plot by his general Heliodorus. Verses 21-45 deal with the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes in greatest detail. He is described as a despicable person who obtained his kingdom by intrigue, overcame all opposition, set aside "the prince of the covenant" (Onias III), and reigned by the power of bribes (vv. 21-24). His first invasion of Egypt succeeds and ends in the plunder of Jerusalem (vv. 25-28). His second invasion is frustrated by the interference of the Romans, whence he turns with anger against Jerusalem and is aided by Jewish apostates (vv. 27-30). The sanctuary is defiled, the offerings cease, an abominable altar to Zeus is erected (v. 31f.). Many are led to deny their faith, while others remain steadfast, but suffer persecution and martyrdom; a little help comes, but the trials of martyrdom are needed to refine the community (vv. 33-35). His arrogance and viciousness grow; he gives up his own reli-

gion, and his end comes after a victory in Egypt, while he is encamped on the Philistine plain (vv. 36-45). Then after all the trials, the Messianic age will come; the dead will rise to receive their fitting rewards or punishments; the pious teachers *(Chasidim)* who have helped many to turn to righteousness shall have a special reward (12. 1-3). The apocalypse closes with final instructions (vv. 4-12).

262. Its Character and Purpose. The perusal of the book reveals clearly its practical purpose to encourage to faithfulness those who were tempted by persecution to give up their faith and pure life. But this practical message is conveyed in a form that has greatly influenced the religious and national hopes not only of Judaism but also of Christianity. From henceforth the apocalyptic element becomes strongly prominent in the outlook for the future. Out of it have come the whole series of eschatological conceptions: the conflict between God and Satan, good and evil angels; the coming Judgment Day, which divides the world into the age that now is and that which is to come; the bodily resurrection, the heavenly character of the Messiah, and heaven and hell.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Read Dan 1 to 6 and note how the lesson of faithfulness to religious faith and customs is enforced.
2. Read the first vision (ch. 7), note its relation to chapter 2, and its character as a synopsis of history.
3. Read the second and third visions (ch. 8f) in the same manner.
4. Read the fourth vision (chs. 10 to 12) with the aid of the outline in the textbook.
5. Consider the character and purpose of the book of Daniel as a whole.

3. The Maccabean Uprising

263. The Revolt of Mattathias and His Sons. In this crisis of Judaism it was religious faith and enthusiasm that dared to undertake what might humanly speaking have been considered as the impossible, to withstand the Syrian

1 Macc 2. 1–28

oppression. The revolt originated with Mattathias, a priest living at Modein, about sixteen miles northwest of Jerusalem, and his five sons, John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan, each of whom played an important part in subsequent history. The occasion was when the royal official had come to call to the heathen sacrifice. Mattathias refused to participate, killed a Jew who was sacrificing and also the official, broke the altar to pieces, and fled with his sons into the mountains. The extreme zeal for the Law made fighting on the Sabbath day unlawful. But when some of the fugitives, who were pursued by the Syrians, allowed themselves with wives and children to be totally exterminated rather than fight on the Sabbath, the party of Mattathias took action to declare self-defense on the Sabbath lawful. A company of Hasideans *(Chasidim)* now joined the fugitives; and they moved about the country, killing Jewish apostates, breaking down the heathen altars, forcibly circumcising Jewish children, and stirring up the spirit of revolt.

1 Macc 3. 1–37.

264. Judas Maccabeus. Upon the death of his father, Mattathias, Judas, with the surname Maccabee, the "Hammerer," became leader of the movement, distinguishing himself by energy and enthusiasm. He defeated the Syrians under Appolonius, slaying him personally, and appropriating his sword, which he carried in all the future battles. Again he defeated them under Seron at Bethhoron. When Antiochus Epiphanes went on his Persian expedition he appointed Lysias as regent, leaving him half of his army, and ordering him to utterly root out the revolting Jews.

1 Macc 3. 38 to 4. 35
2 Macc 8. 8–36; 11. 1 to 12. 1

Lysias sent forty-seven thousand soldiers into Judæa, placing Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias as generals over them. The Syrians encamped near Emmaus, and so sure were they of victory that slave traders accompanied them to carry off the Jewish captives. Judas collected his troops at Mizpeh; and what they lacked in equipment and numbers, they made up in holy enthusiasm. While a detachment

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

under Gorgias was in search of Judas the latter attacked the main army at Emmaus, and defeated it; and when Gorgias on his return learned of the defeat, he fled to Philistia; and Judas's victory was complete (165 B. C.). The following year Lysias himself came into Judæa with a still larger army. At Bethzur, south of Jerusalem, Judas met him with an inferior force; but defeated him, and drove him back to Syria.

265. The Restoration of the Temple Service. Judas now could give his attention to Jerusalem. Although the citadel was still occupied by Syrian soldiers, he could keep them in check, while he set to work to reestablish the divine service according to the Law. He removed every vestige of heathenism, purified all that had been defiled by its contact, tore down the pagan altar and built a new one. Exactly three years after the temple had been defiled by the offering of the first heathen sacrifice the regular Jewish sacrifices were again begun to be offered, December, 165 B. C. The celebration that accompanied it has perpetuated itself in *Chanuka* or the feast of Dedication (confer John 10. 22), to our own day, the Jews celebrating it about Christmastime by the symbolic kindling of lights for eight days. Judas further took measures to fortify Jerusalem and Bethzur against attacks from Idumæa. The crisis of Judaism had thus been successfully passed, but the struggle was by no means over.

1 Macc 4. 36–61; 2 Macc 10. 1–9

266. The Jews of Egypt. In most striking contrast with the Seleucids was the treatment that the Ptolemies of Egypt accorded to the Jews. Instead of hindering them in the pursuit of their religious customs, they even aided them. When the Jewish high priest, Onias IV, was driven from Jerusalem, in 170 B. C., he came to Egypt. Here he was welcomed and aided to build a Jewish temple at Leontopolis in the nome of Heliopolis by Ptolemy IV, which was patterned after the temple of Jerusalem (compare Section 190). This action had important bearings upon the develop-

ment of Judaism in the pre-Christian centuries, supplying it with its more liberal tendencies.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Read the passage in 1 Macc relating to the family of Mattathias and their zeal for orthodox Judaism.
2. Read the passages in 1 and 2 Macc relating to the earlier wars of Judas and follow his movements on the map.
3. Consider the origin of the feast of Dedication and its historical significance.
4. Note the condition of the Jews in Egypt.

CHAPTER XV

THE RULE OF THE MACCABEAN PRIESTS

1. The Reestablishment of Religious and National Independence

267. The Wars of Judas. The success of Judas stirred up the envy of the petty enemies surrounding the Jews, which showed itself in the cruel maltreatment of Jewish people who dwelt in their midst. The cry for help from his oppressed brethren could not go unheeded. He was thus forced to take up arms against the Edomites, Joppa and Jamnia, the Ammonites, Gilead and Galilee. He severely punished the offenders; and where he could not provide protection against future attacks, as in Galilee and Gilead, he transferred the whole Jewish population to Judæa. While Judas and his brother Simon were absent on their mission of help occurred the first defeat of the Jewish forces. Joseph and Azarias, who had been left in charge of the army in Judæa, attempted against the strict orders of Judas to engage the Syrian forces under Gorgias at Jamnia; and were defeated. But Judas soon made good the loss by the capture of Hebron from the Edomites and Ashdod (Azotus) in the Philistine plain, destroying the emblems of pagan worship.

1 Macc 5; 2 Macc 10. 14–38; 12. 2–45

268. The Establishment of Religious Liberty. But now serious reverses began. Antiochus Epiphanes had died on his expedition to Persia (164 B. C.), and had appointed Philip as regent. But Lysias, who was the guardian of the heir to the throne, Antiochus V Eupator, assumed the control of the empire; and being urged by the Syrian garrison

1 Macc 6; 2 Macc 9. 1–29; 10. 9–13; 13. 1–22

of the citadel of Jerusalem and the Hellenistic party of Jerusalem to come to their help against Judas, he mobilized a vast army, and invaded Judæa from the south. Judas's army was defeated at Beth-zacharias, his brother Eleazar killed, Bethzur taken, and Jerusalem invested. All seemed lost. But, strange to say, Lysias now offered Judas most favorable terms of peace. Philip, his rival, had returned from Persia, and was at the doors of Antioch; and Lysias was anxious to return. He offered Judas absolute religious liberty, on which terms the latter was ready to submit; for though it left Judæa still subject to Syria, it brought them the prize for which they had fought for five years—the right to worship the God of their fathers according to the Law. The attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes had failed, and the Jews were no longer threatened by that danger. An important consequence was that Jewish struggles against the Syrians became henceforth political rather than religious.

1 Macc 7; 2 Macc 14; 15

269. The High Priest Alcimus. A change of kings in Syria brought to the Jews a renewed conflict. Demetrius, son of Seleucus IV, who had been held as hostage, escaped from Rome, seized the Syrian throne, and had Antiochus V and Lysias slain. The Hellenistic party, with the priest Alcimus as leader, won over to them the new king, who appointed Alcimus high priest, and sent Bacchides with an army to establish him in Jerusalem. Judas, who saw the danger of Hellenism in Alcimus, opposed him, and was gaining on him, when the former applied once more to Demetrius for help. But Nicanor, who was sent, was killed in the battle of Adasa, and his army defeated, leaving Judas master of the situation.

1 Macc 8. 1 to 9. 22

270. Judas's Alliance with Rome, and His Death. Realizing the need of outside help to cope with the Syrian power, Judas sought alliance with Rome, which was granted; and the announcement of the alliance was sent to Demetrius as a warning. But it arrived too late. Within two months of the death of Nicanor, Demetrius sent a strong force into

Judæa under Bacchides. The Jews were frightened by the overwhelming size of the army and deserted Judas. In the battle of Berea, probably about nine miles north of Jerusalem, Judas with but a handful of faithful followers was defeated and himself slain (161 B. C.).

Judas was one of the greatest of the Maccabees and one of the great heroes of Old Testament history. He was a courageous and zealous champion of religion and morality: the best product of the priestly period, somewhat like the scrupulous and pious Puritan warriors of the times of Oliver Cromwell. His one great achievement for which he must ever be remembered was that he fought for and won religious freedom for his people (confer 1 Macc 3. 3-9).

271. Jonathan and the Beginnings of Political Independence. 1 Macc 9. 23–73

Jonathan was chosen to succeed in leadership upon the death of his brother Judas. He bore the surname Aphus, which in Syriac signifies the "Diplomat"; and it characterizes the means by which he advanced. The first two years, while Alcimus the high priest lived, he had to content himself with carrying on a guerrilla warfare against the Syrians under Bacchides, who supported Alcimus. But upon the latter's death Bacchides made peace with Jonathan, who set up an independent rule at Michmash, and carried on an aggressive movement against the Hellenistic party.

1 Macc 10. 1–66

In the struggle for the Syrian throne between Alexander Balas, a low pretender, and Demetrius, Jonathan sided himself with the first. Each of the rivals outbid the other with granting favors. Demetrius gave Jonathan authority to collect an army to aid the king. Jonathan upon this took possession of Jerusalem, without committing himself to help the Syrian king. Alexander Balas surpassed Demetrius by appointing Jonathan high priest. Jonathan promptly accepted the office, and became formally the chief ruler of the Jews (153 B. C.). When Demetrius heard that Jonathan was favoring his rival he offered him still

greater privileges, as exemptions from taxes and three Samaritan districts. Jonathan refused to yield to the temptation, and as subsequent events proved, wisely, for Alexander defeated Demetrius, who lost his life, and became king of Syria (150 B. C.). In the same year Jonathan was still more highly honored by Alexander Balas. At Ptolemais, the wedding took place between Cleopatra Ptolemy, Philometor's daughter, and Alexander Balas. The Egyptian king was present and Alexander appointed Jonathan civil and military governor of Judæa, and made him sit by his side. What Judas had fought for and not obtained in spite of his strenuous efforts, Jonathan had granted to him by favor; and the efforts of the Hellenistic party to discredit him with Alexander failed.

1 Macc 10. 67 to 11. 19

During the subsequent changes in the Syrian succession, Jonathan employed the same diplomatic skill to advance the Jewish cause. He took the side of Alexander against Demetrius II, defeated the latter's forces under Apollonius in the Philistine plain, and received from the former the

1 Macc. 11. 20–74

city of Ekron as a reward. When Demetrius II became king of Syria Jonathan felt himself strong enough to demand from him what Demetrius I had offered him, namely, the three Samaritan districts, Ephraim, Lydda, and Ramathaim, and exemption of all taxes, which the Syrian king dared not to refuse. When with Tryphon, who had secured control over Alexander Balas's young son Antiochus, another aspirant to the Syrian throne arose, Jonathan found it profitable to aid Demetrius II, on condition that he would remove the Syrian garrison from the citadel of Jerusalem. But when Demetrius kept not his promise Jonathan went over to the side of Tryphon and Antiochus, who granted him all that Demetrius had promised, and even more, for, in addition to leaving Jonathan the civil and ecclesiastical chief of the considerably enlarged Judæa, he appointed his brother Simon military governor of the country from the Ladder of Tyre to the borders of Egypt.

272. The End of Jonathan. The two brothers now conjointly made their power felt from Hamath in the north to Bethzur in the south. Jonathan even renewed his brother Judas's friendly relation with Rome. But Tryphon, who aspired to the Syrian throne, deemed Jonathan's growth in power dangerous. Under the guise of a friendly conference he decoyed him to come to Ptolemais. Here he seized him and held him prisoner, exacting heavy tribute on his release, but never releasing him, and ultimately treacherously murdering him (142 B. C.). 1 Macc 12. 1 to 13. 30

273. Simon and the Establishment of National Independence. The Maccabean movement had begun with the endeavor to free the Jewish religion from restraint. Judas had accomplished that task. But the Maccabeans soon felt that unless their state was free also, their religion would be dominated by Hellenistic influences. It was Jonathan's task to more fully secure the freedom of religion by working for the independence of the state. It was now Simon's task and glory to make the Jewish state and religion fully independent. He had been chosen his brother's successor as high priest. He first made various well-directed efforts to strengthen the fortifications. He next turned from the treacherous Tryphon to Demetrius II, who was only too willing to forget and forgive the past, and accept the fealty of Simon, and to reward him most generously. The Jewish state was declared fully exempt from taxes, and by that action its political independence was acknowledged. The event was signalized by taking it as the era whence to date time, and by the coinage of Hebrew money. Simon also succeeded for the first time in getting possession of the Jerusalem citadel, the Acra. The period that followed was remarkable for its general peace and prosperity, as well as for the pious zeal with which the Law was observed. For the time being the priestly ideal of the theocracy had been realized. In grateful recognition of what had been accomplished by the Maccabeans, or Has- 1 Macc 13. 31 to 14. 49

moneans, the office of high priest was formally made legitimate and hereditary in their family by official action of the representatives of the people, and Simon was declared to be high priest, civil governor, and military leader of the nation, "for ever, until there should arise a faithful prophet" (1 Macc 14. 41). It seems quite probable that Psa 110 is the product of this time and celebrates this great event in Jewish history; for at no other time can there be found a personage that so well deserved to be sung as combining in him the three great qualities of priesthood, kingship, and martial glory.

The declaration of Jehovah to my lord;
Sit thou (enthroned) on my right hand,
Until I make thy enemies the stool of thy feet.
Jehovah will extend thy strong scepter out of Zion,
Rule thou in the midst of thy enemies.
Thy people volunteer for the day of thy army on holy mountains,
From the womb of the morn hast thou the dew of thy youths.
Jehovah has sworn and will not repent:
"Thou art a priest forever, after the manner of Melchizedek."
The Lord is at thy right hand,
He smites kings in the day of his wrath.
He sits in judgment among the nations,
He fills (the land) with dead bodies,
He smites the head of a great land,
From the brook by the way he will drink,
Therefore will he lift up his head.

1 Macc 15; 16

274. The Death of Simon. The reign of Simon was made distinguished also by a treaty with Rome. And when Antiochus VII endeavored to regain control over the Jewish state he met with a successful resistance from Simon. But it was a cruel and warlike age, and Simon was not to die a peaceful death. His own son-in-law, Ptolemy, seeking to make himself ruler of Judæa, treacherously slew the aged Simon and two of his sons at a banquet; one, John Hyrkanus, his son and successor, succeeded in escaping from a like fate.

With Simon passed away the last of the five great sons of Mattathias, by whom Judaism was not only saved from annihilation but developed into a political power not unequal to that of David and Solomon.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Read the passages relating to the wars of Judas and follow his movements on the map.
2. Read the references, note by what means Judas obtained religious liberty for the Jews, and consider the importance of his achievement.
3. Note the causes of the revival of Hellenism.
4. Note the beginnings of the interest of Rome in Jewish affairs.
5. Estimate the character and achievement of Judas.
6. Read the references and note by what means Jonathan furthered the cause of the political liberty of the Jews.
7. Consider the achievement of Simon and review what the sons of Mattathias accomplished altogether for their nation.

2. The Conflicts between Pharisees and Sadducees

275. The Rise of the Parties of the Pharisees and Sadducees. The movements of historical events crystallized certain tendencies, which during this time had become definite enough to assume distinct names, namely, Pharisees and Sadducees, so familiar in New Testament times. The Pharisees were the product of the emphasis upon the Law and the spiritual descendants of the scribe Ezra. Before the Maccabean uprising they were known as the *Chasidim* (Hasideans) or "Pious"; and the Maccabees themselves belonged to that circle of thought. It stood for Jewish nationalism under the Law. In striking contrast with it was the Jewish element that had more liberal tendencies toward outside culture. In a milder form it was willing to change Judaism to correspond with Hellenic culture; but in the extreme form it was ready to aid the efforts of an Antiochus Epiphanes to displace the Jewish religion by that of the Greek. The Maccabean revolt did away with the latter extreme. What was left now was the milder form of the

friendliness toward Hellenism, which was represented by the aristocratic members of the priestly families of the Zadokites (sons of Zadok the high priest, Ezek 40. 46), hence called Sadducees. The opposite tendency of the antagonism to Greek culture took form in the Pharisees, who, as their name, the "Separatists," indicates, would have nothing to do with it; and pursued on principle an exclusive policy. The Chasidim, from whom the Pharisees sprang, were a strictly religious party, taking an active part in politics only when their religion was in danger. So when Judas had obtained religious freedom their interest in the further struggles waned and they gave him but an indifferent, or no, support in his and his followers' attempts to secure political freedom. This was also the attitude of the Pharisees. They were no political party, but a religious sect, intent on living most scrupulously according to the strictest interpretation of the Law. The Sadducees, on the other hand, had definite political aspirations; and they sought to further them by gaining foreign royal favor in aiding the spread of Greek culture among the Jews. The ruling party of the Maccabees or Hasmoneans had naturally Pharisaic predilections, but in time their desire for political freedom outstripped their religious interests; and when the Pharisees failed to give them support they did subsequently make common cause with the Sadducees.

276. John Hyrcanus and the National Growth. The biblical material now begins to fail us, and we are dependent mainly upon Josephus (Antiquities xiii, 8-10). The rule of John Hyrcanus (135-104 B. C.) was long, and from the point of view of material progress, highly prosperous. He asserted over against the Syrians Jewish independence, and his alliance with the Romans aided him therein. He subdued the Samaritans and destroyed their temple on Mount Gerizim. The Idumæans he forced into accepting Judaism. The boundaries of the Jewish state were as extended as in the most prosperous days of Solomon. But the latter part

of his reign was marred by his break with the Pharisees, who cast a slur upon his birth by suggesting that his mother had been a captive in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes and that, if he would be absolutely conscientious in the observance of the Law, he should resign from the high priesthood, and content himself with the civil office. This angered him so that he became the opponent of the Pharisaic orthodoxy and advanced the spread of the liberalism of the Sadducees, thus preparing for conditions of New Testament times.

277. **The Later Hasmonean Rulers.** Aristobulus I, the son of John Hyrcanus, who ruled but one year (104-103 B. C.), was the first of the Hasmoneans to assume the title king (Josephus, Antiquities xiii, 11). His Hebrew name was Judah, which he changed into the Greek Aristobulus, indicating his tendencies toward Hellenism, the spread of which he favored. This, however, did not prevent him from forcing the inhabitants of Galilee into Judaism. In order to secure his throne he starved his mother to death in prison, imprisoned his brothers, and through jealousy caused the death of his best-beloved brother. His family tragedies mark a decided degeneration in morals and genuine piety, and indicate the trend toward national dissolution, which, as in the days of the Hebrew monarchy, was caused by moral weakness.

278. **Alexander Jannæus** (103-76 B. C.), the oldest brother of Aristobulus, is a further illustration of the downward tendency of the ruling Hasmoneans (Josephus, Antiquities xiii, 12-15). His numerous military expeditions lacked in sufficient moral force to win him the aid of the Pharisees, who had no sympathy with mere wars of conquest. The spectacle of the warrior high priest engaged in what they considered needless bloodshed, and profligate in life, embittered them. It found expression on a festival occasion of the feast of Tabernacles, when the people pelted him with the citrons used in the ceremonial,

while he was engaged in the temple service. He retaliated by ordering his soldiers to fall upon the multitude, and six hundred were slain (Josephus, Antiquities xiii, 13. 5). The antagonism developed into civil war, and Alexander, who was victorious, punished the Pharisees, according to Josephus, in the most barbarous fashion in the world. While he was publicly feasting in Jerusalem with his mistresses, he ordered eight hundred of them to be crucified, and while they were yet living, the throats of their wives and children cut before their eyes (xiv, 2). His own end came through a sickness brought on by his drunkenness. Alexander Jannæus had succeeded in extending the boundaries of the Jewish state beyond that of his predecessors. In the south it included Idumæa; in the north, Seleucia, by the waters of Merom; the coast cities were all under Jewish sway, except Askalon; and on the east side of the Jordan he had captured even such Greek cities as Hippos, Gadara, Pella, Dium, and others. But his vicious character outweighed his material successes; and his reign brought no permanent good.

279. **Alexandra** (76-67 B. C.), Alexander Jannæus's widow, became his successor by his will, and she appointed her oldest son, Hyrcanus, high priest (Josephus, Antiquities xiii, 16). It appears that Alexander had learned before his death the mistake he had made in antagonizing the Pharisees, and advised his widow to favor them. The reign of Alexandra was consequently the golden age of Pharisaism. They were the supreme power in the state, and the laws that had been abrogated in the two previous reigns were reinstated. The *Gerousia* had now again come into power as a governing body, composed of both Pharisees and Sadducees but with a predominance of the former. Alexandra's younger son, Aristobulus, represented the latter, and even before the death of Alexandra had succeeded in gathering their strength around him, and was well on his way of seizing the government.

280. Aristobulus II (67-63 B. C.), immediately upon the death of his mother, took forcible measures to wrest the government from his brother Hyrcanus II, who as the elder brother and occupant of the high priesthood, was the legitimate heir. The struggle for the throne between these two brothers ultimately resulted in the loss of Jewish independence to the Romans.

Aristobulus succeeded in making Hyrcanus resign in his favor both the kingship and priesthood. But Antipater, an Idumæan, the father of him who later became Herod the Great, undertook to defend the cause of the deposed Hyrcanus by advising him to flee for protection and aid to Aretas, king of the Nabateans. Aretas invaded Judæa in the interest of Hyrcanus, defeated Aristobulus, and drove him to take refuge in the temple stronghold.

281. Pompey's Capture of Jerusalem. It was at this point that the Romans began to take a more direct part in Jewish history. Pompey, who was victoriously marching through Asia, sent Scaurus into Syria in 65 B. C. Both brothers appealed to him for aid; he espoused the side of Aristobulus, and made Aretas give up the siege of Jerusalem. When Pompey had come to Damascus both brothers and representatives of the people appeared before him. Hyrcanus complained to him that his brother had deprived him of the right of succession; Aristobulus gave the inefficiency of his brother as the reason for his ambition, while the people pleaded for the restoration of the old order, the abrogation of the monarchy, and government by the high priest only. Pompey deferred action until he should come to Judæa. But the warlike actions of Aristobulus forced him to go against him, which resulted in the capture of Jerusalem, during which many Judæans lost their lives. He appointed Hyrcanus high priest over a much reduced Jewish state, and took Aristobulus and his family captive to Rome. Thus Judæa after only eighty years of independence came under the yoke of the Romans

(63 B. C.), who ultimately made an utter end to its national existence. But the fault of it in the main lay with the Jews themselves, who had departed not only from the ideals of their great prophets, but even of their great priests, who with all their narrowness were inspired by a true patriotism and a high morality.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Consider the origin of the parties of the Pharisees and Sadducees.
2. Read the reference to Josephus and note the extent of the Jewish state under John Hyrcanus and the cause of his break with the Pharisees.
3. Read the reference to Josephus and note the growth of Hellenism under Aristobulus.
4. Read the reference to Josephus and note the political success and the moral degeneracy of the Hasmoneans as illustrated by Alexander Jannæus.
5. Consider the reign of Alexandra and why it was the golden age of Pharisaism.
6. Consider the causes that led to the Roman capture of Jerusalem.

3. The Literature and Life of the Maccabean Period

282. The Maccabean Psalms. That the Maccabean struggle which originated in religious enthusiasm and patriotism should have expressed itself in religious lyrics is intrinsically probable. But its best evidence is that some of the psalms fit this historical background better than any other. This is now most generally acknowledged to be true of Psalms 44, 74, 79, and 83, which voice the feelings of the pious Jewish sufferers of the period of the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, when the sanctuary was profaned and the sacred meeting places, the synagogues burned (74. 7f.); when they found themselves pursued by enemies all around (83. 4ff.); felt themselves as sheep given as food to their enemies (44. 9-16); and scoffingly and cruelly maltreated (79. 2ff.; quoted 1 Macc 7. 17). But coming

also from the subsequent period of victories and exaltation, voicing sentiments more optimistic and buoyant, we must consider Psalms 110, already mentioned above (Section 273), and 85, and probably many others, in which, however, the allusions are too subtle for definite dating. But that the period contained motives for lyrics in feelings of revenge and hatred against political and religious enemies, within and without the nation, cannot be questioned. They might either express themselves in originating poetry or by the use of older hymns; but whichever way it happened, the Psalms, which were now constantly used in worship and otherwise, express the Jewish thought and life of the Maccabean period; and much can be learned from them that throws light upon the period.

Professor B. Duhm, who represents the extremest attitude in favor of Maccabean Psalms, makes the following suggestions as to their origin; and it may prove helpful to read them with the historical background in view:

Psalms of the period of the Maccabean struggles: 74, 24, 83, 118, 149, 44, 77, 55, 12f., 35, 69a, 79, 69b.

Psalms of the period of the Hasmonean high priests: 101, 110, 85, 99, 60, 66a.

Psalms from the period of the Hasmonean kings: 2, 45, 20f., 61, 63, 72, 84b, 132, 89, 18, 144a, 144b, 68.

Psalms of the period of the struggles of the Pharisees against the Hasmonean kings: 18, 21, 63, 89, 132, representing a friendly attitude toward these kings; 17, 9f., 14, 56, 57a, 58f., 64, 82, 92, 94, 140, representing the antagonistic attitude.

283. The Book of Esther. The book of Esther reflects the feelings of elation of the Jewish people of the period that followed the unsuccessful attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to make an end of the Jewish nation and religion. Haman's plan to destroy in one day the entire Jewish population of the Persian empire (3. 8, 13) is the counterpart of what Epiphanes had endeavored to do (1 Macc 3. 34-36). The story pictures with evident delight, in the form of an

Esther

occurrence in the days of Xerxes, how through Jewish intrigue and skill the plan was frustrated and brought to culminate in the destruction of their enemies by the very means they had devised. There shines through the entire plot a spirit of satisfaction that the enemy had been repaid; and it conveys very much the same sentiments as Psa 35. 7ff.:

> For without cause they spread for me their net,
> Without cause they dug for me a pit.
> Let unawares destruction come upon them!
> Let the net they have spread ensnare them!
> Let them fall into their own destruction!
> Then will I rejoice in Jehovah,
> And shout for joy over his help.

The religious element, however, is conspicuously absent from the book, and the name of God is not mentioned in it. It is of the nature of the so-called imprecatory psalms, without their religious spirit. Its moral tone is very low; and there is not a noble character in the book. The Christian Church has never taken kindly to it, and that the Jews favor it highly is due to the fact that it gives suitable expression to the hatred which they must often have felt on account of the persecutions they have had to endure. The object of the book was evidently to explain the feast of *Purim,* the nature of which is fully given in the book itself (9. 20-25). It was a time of merry-making, and it has perpetuated itself to the present time.

Judith

284. The Book of Judith. The book of Judith is a parallel to the book of Esther, but it has a pronounced religious character. It is a story, possibly based upon some historical fact, but written with the purpose to inculcate religious ideas, current among the pious Jews of the Maccabean period, and consequently giving light upon the thought of that time. Judith is an ideal Jewish woman, of the type of the Pharisees, strictly living according to the requirements of the Law. It expresses the Jewish consciousness

of superiority to the Gentile world, its hatred for it, and its delight in taking revenge. Its worst fault is that it considers God as making common cause with the most cruel forms of taking vengeance, showing a lack of insight into the highest type of ethical and spiritual religion.

285. The Book of Tobit. The book of Tobit is a somewhat different illustration of the type of Pharisaic piety. It presents the picture of the Pharisaic ideals of pious family life. Among its virtues are strict adherence to the observance of the Law, and especially the avoidance of intermarriage with those who are not of the Jewish nation and faith. Other marriages bring a curse, but the marriage of those of like Jewish faith results in blessings. God's providence is over them that live according to his Law; evil angels cannot harm them, and good angels pave their way for them. Tobit

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Examine the Psalms mentioned in section 282 and note to what extent they may be regarded as reflecting the Maccabean period.
2. Read the book of Esther, note its origin and character, and value its ethical spirit.
3. Read the book of Judith and note what ideals it represents.
4. Read the book of Tobit and compare its ideals with that of the book of Ruth.

CHAPTER XVI

THE JEWS UNDER ROMAN RULE

(The Roman Period, 63 B. C. to 70 A. D.)

1. The Loss of Jewish Independence

286. The Rivalries of the Hasmoneans. The rivalries of the Hasmoneans, Jewish sympathy with them over against Rome, and the crafty policy of Antipater, brought about conditions which resulted in the passing of the rule of Judæa into the alien power of the Idumæan Herod. Pompey had left Judæa, consisting of Judæa, Galilee, and Peræa, under the high priest Hyrcanus II (63-40 B. C.) subordinate to a Roman governor of the province and tributary to him; but the Jews were restive. The first revolt took place under Alexander, Aristobulus's eldest son, who had escaped from Rome, and had gathered a force against Hyrcanus, and was put down by the Roman governor Gabinius in 57 B. C. The result was that the Jewish territory was divided into five administrative districts, leaving to Hyrcanus only the care of the temple, thus stripping him of all political power (Antiquities xiv, 5). The next year Aristobulus and his son, Antigonus, escaped from Rome, and raised another revolt, which was no more successful. A third revolt under Alexander failed also. Hyrcanus and Antipater, who had shown themselves on the side of Rome, were rewarded. Hyrcanus was restored to his former domain, and Antipater came into high favor (Antiquities xiv, 6).

287. The Rise of Antipater. The Roman hand was heavy upon Judæa. Crassus, on his way against the Parthians, robbed the Jewish temple of its treasures, breaking

his solemn oath that he would be content with what was given him voluntarily. Cassius put down a Jewish revolt, and sold thirty thousand Jews into slavery. In the meanwhile Antipater, who used Hyrcanus simply as his tool, furthered his own interests by ingratiating himself with such as could help him. Cæsar, after his defeat of Pompey (49), freed Aristobulus and sent him as his representative to Syria with two legions, but the followers of Pompey poisoned him; and Aristobulus's son, Alexander, fell as a victim of the Roman civil war (Antiquities xiv, 7). When Cæsar made his expedition against Egypt Antipater and Hyrcanus rendered him very valuable services, and when he came to Syria he rewarded them both, against the remonstrance of Antigonus, the surviving son of Aristobulus, making Hyrcanus ethnarch, with restored political power, and Antipater procurator of Judæa, and allowing also the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem which Pompey had torn down (Antiquities xiv, 8). But it was really Antipater who was the ruler, rather than the weak Hyrcanus.

288. The Sons of Antipater, Phasael and Herod. Antipater appointed his sons Phasael and Herod as governors of Jerusalem and Galilee respectively. Herod, who was at this time about twenty-five years of age, showed already remarkable energy and aggressiveness. He drove out a body of bandits who made the country insecure and executed its leader. The latter action offended the Sanhedrin, who claimed the power to decide such cases. They made Hyrcanus bring Herod to trial, but the Romans interfered, and Herod appeared throughout the trial more as a conqueror than a suppliant for mercy (Antiquities xiv, 9). Upon the murder of Cæsar (43 B. C.), Cassius came to Syria to collect troops and funds. Herod's aid was prompt, and brought him Cassius's favor. But a certain Arabian, Malichus, found Antipater in his way of advancement, and bribed Hyrcanus's butler to poison him. Herod obtained Cassius's consent to revenge his father's

death, and had Malichus slain (Antiquities xiv, 11). But the ambitions of Antipater had well advanced and were now securely in the hands of his two sons, Phasael and Herod. Antigonus now once more (42 B. C.) made the attempt to seize Judæa, but Herod defeated him (Antiquities xiv, 12).

But a greater danger threatened Herod and his brother, when Brutus and Cassius were defeated by Antony, and the latter came into Syria. The two brothers had been accused before him by representative Jewish nobles. But as Hyrcanus appeared as their defender and he himself had on earlier occasions enjoyed the hospitality of their father Antipater, they rather gained by these efforts, for Antony appointed Herod and Phasael tetrarchs of the Judæan territory.

289. **The Parthians in Syria.** Antigonus again renewed his attempt to seize the government of Judæa, but this time with better success. The Parthians had conquered Asia, and were in northern Syria. Antigonus persuaded them to make him king of Judæa, and through their aid succeeded in getting possession of the persons of Hyrcanus and Phasael. The former he mutilated to make him incapable of holding the high priesthood, and the Parthians carried him off into their country; the latter committed suicide in prison. Herod succeeded in rescuing his family and himself by flight (Antiquities xiv, 13).

290. **The Reign of Antigonus.** Antigonus (40-37 B. C.) had but a short and stormy reign. Herod went to Rome to appear before Antony and Augustus to secure help against Antigonus and the kingship for his wife Mariamme's brother, a grandson of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus. But the Romans deemed Herod the better man; and by the action of the Senate he was made king (40 B. C.). He now returned to Judæa, and during the following three years engaged in a series of efforts to secure his kingdom. With the aid of a Roman army under Sosius, he finally succeeded

in breaking through the walls of Jerusalem. Antigonus was captured and carried by the Romans to Antioch, where they executed him. With him the last of the Hasmonean rulers came to an end (Antiquities xiv, 14-16).

291. The Reign of Herod. From a mere political point of view, the long reign of Herod (37 B. C. to 4 B. C.) was one of great achievements. He was a Hellenistic ruler with all the good and evil that the term implies. He sought to be a friend of the Romans and to spread their culture. The kingdom of Judæa was in his day probably more respected among other nations than at any other time. The position which he occupied in the Roman empire was that of a *rex socius,* that is, an allied king. He was under the empire and under obligations to aid it, but within his kingdom he was entirely independent. His was, generally speaking, a peaceful reign. He was politic enough not to antagonize the Pharisaic party by interfering with their punctilious observance of the Law. But at the same time he on his part showed his predilections for Hellenic culture. He was a great builder with æsthetic tastes. His greatest building achievement was the temple, which was a most magnificent series of structures in Greek and Roman style, requiring a lifetime for its completion. He built or rebuilt the cities of Samaria (Sebaste), Cæsarea, Antipatris, Phasælis, and numerous castles, citadels, and towers in various parts of his kingdom. In Jerusalem he built himself a strongly fortified palace, the tower of Antonia, and provided the city with a water supply. In Jerusalem and elsewhere he built theaters, amphitheaters, baths, gymnasiums, and introduced the Olympic games. He also introduced the study of Greek literature and philosophy. He was an Idumæan, that is, a descendant of the Edomites, who had been forced on the point of the sword to become Jews, but whose conversion was but superficial. He was thus but a half-Jew and personally out of sympathy with the Pharisees.

292. The Character of Herod. Herod's moral character was of the worst type. He murdered or was the means of murdering, successively members of his own family, Aristobulus, his wife's brother, one of the Hasmonean heirs; Joseph, his sister's husband; Hyrcanus II, the mutilated high priest; his wife, Mariamme; her mother, Alexandra; his sister's husband, the sons of Sabba or Baba, the last Hasmonean heirs; his sons, Aristobulus and Alexander, and Antipater. He was a cruel tyrant, and evidently insanely jealous. Herod may be taken as an illustration of the political vicissitudes of the Jewish nation, but as a product of the spirit and religion of the Old Testament he was clearly a monstrous incongruity.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Read the references to Josephus and note the cause of the weakness of the Hasmoneans and the rise of Antipater.
2. Read the references to Josephus and trace the earlier career of Herod.
3. Consider the reign and character of Herod and account for his lack of moral character.

2. The Developed Form of Judaism

293. The Scribes. The most representative class of Judaism in its fully developed form was the scribes. At the beginning of the Christian era they were regarded as the authoritative religious teachers, having taken the place of the prophets and priests of former times. The order of the scribes originated with the institution of the Law by Ezra, who was the first to bear this title. Law when it is to be scrupulously obeyed requires detailed explanation. At first the priests furnished it, but gradually it fell in the hands of specialists, who formed an independent religious profession, called scribes, lawyers, and teachers of the Law. When the priesthood became Hellenized the scribes saved Judaism from extinction by their zeal for the Law. Their growing prestige is seen from the title "rabbi," meaning

"teacher" or "master," which they assumed, and from the honor which they claimed: "The honor of a friend should reach as high as the respect for thy teacher, but the respect for thy teacher as high as the fear of God," was one of the sayings of the Jewish Fathers (Aboth, 4. 12). Schools were established for the instruction in the Law in connection with the synagogues, and the courts of the temple were used, where the scribes officiated as teachers.

294. **The Legislation of the Scribes.** Besides teaching and administering the Law, the scribes also made new laws. Its starting point, of course, was the Law of Moses; but it soon became independent of it, and even in spirit often contravened it. The legislation was divided into negative and positive. The motto of the former was: "Make a fence around the Law" (Aboth, 1. 1). When a thing in itself lawful was likely to lead to the transgression of the Law it was prohibited, as, for instance, the drinking of wine of heathen people, for it might have been used in connection with a heathen sacrifice (compare 1 Cor 8. 4ff.; 10. 23ff.; Rom 14. 13). This kind of legislation was called *gezeroth,* or "fences," and its object was to prevent the transgression of the Law. The positive legislation related to matters of ritual, forms of prayers, the fixing of the festal calendar, dispensations regarding vows, etc. We may see many of these new laws already in full force at the beginning of the Christian era. The law of the phylacteries and fringes is mentioned in Matt. 23. 5. The dietary laws relating to forbidden foods and ceremonial handwashings are often referred to (Matt 15. 10-20; Acts 10. 1-16). The Sabbath was particularly hedged about with new legislation. Out of the references to the Sabbath in the Old Testament thirty-nine principal acts of labor were systematized. These were called "fathers," and out of them were evolved new laws, called "children"; and both were made equally binding; thus plucking a few ears of corn was regarded as much of a violation of the Sabbath as

reaping and plowing (Matt 12. 1f.). This legalism touched every detail of the daily life, and its tendency was to become increasingly more exacting.

295. The Synagogue. Closely associated with this legalism of the scribes was the institution of the synagogue. The term has a narrower and broader meaning: in the broader meaning a synagogue is a local community in its corporate capacity and as under religious and more or less civil jurisdiction; in the narrower, it is the building with its assemblies and services. Naturally, the two meanings often merge into one. The synagogue as an organized religious community originated in the local government. When the assemblies first began, and when buildings were first set aside for this specific purpose, cannot be definitely stated. They probably originated during the exile. The introduction of the Law and the activity of the scribes, together with the rise of Jewish communities outside of Jerusalem, must have given occasion for them. No reference to the institution of the synagogue, however, is met with in the canonical or apocryphal books of the Old Testament, except Psa 74. 8, where most modern scholars find in the words "sacred meeting places" a reference to it, and take it as belonging to the Maccabean period. But at the beginning of the Christian era the synagogue is already a well-known institution with a hoary past: "Moses from generations of old has in every city those that proclaim him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath" (Acts 15. 21); and the Gospels contain many references to it.

296. The Synagogue as a Social Center. As distinguished from the temple, the synagogue was a more democratic institution with social functions, including not only the religious but also the civil and municipal affairs of the community. Where the population was mainly Jewish, the synagogue officials were identical with those of the town or district. Members of the synagogal community were subject to discipline by its government. The local govern-

ing body was called "court" or "council" (Matt 5. 22), and it was composed of twenty-three members in larger towns, and in smaller, of seven, who were called "elders" or "rulers." The methods of punishment were, scourging, excommunication, and death; to be "put out of the synagogue" (John 9. 22; 12. 42), meant more than merely exclusion from the synagogue service, it meant exclusion from the social and religious intercourse, that is, from community life.

297. **The Synagogue Assemblies.** The primary function of the synagogue assemblies was the popular instruction in the Law. Worship, in the narrower sense, was only a secondary object. Both Josephus and Philo call the synagogues "schools," and in the New Testament the chief function of the synagogue is "to teach" (confer Matt 4. 23; Mark 1. 21; 6. 2). But in the earlier times the synagogue was called "the assembly of the common people," and corresponded more nearly to the "gate" as a common meeting place. After the destruction of the temple the synagogue assumed more and more the former's function of worship. But at the end of the first century A. D. it was still possible to class sitting in the synagogues (like sitting in the market place) with sleeping away the morning, drinking wine at noon, and playing with children, as bringing failure in life (Aboth, 3. 14).

298. **The Synagogue Service.** For conducting the synagogue service an official, strictly speaking, was not necessary; any competent Jew could officiate. The main part of the service was the reading of the Law, followed by the reading of the Prophets, and the explanation of the lessons read.[1]

299. **Jewish Parties.** The various forms into which Judaism had differentiated may be seen in the names of parties, which meet us about the time of the rise of Chris-

[1] For a fuller discussion of the entire subject, see the writer's article "Synagogue," in Encyclopædia Biblica.

tianity. Besides the great body of the people, we meet with Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, Zealots, and Herodians.

300. **The Pharisees.** The Pharisees were the religious aristocracy, the orthodox party, and its chief characteristic was the strict observance of the Law, according to the interpretation handed down by tradition through the scribes. The close association of the Pharisees and scribes indicates that they both represented a common cause. The scribes were the professional Pharisees, a select body within the larger circle, whose duty it was, as stated above, to look after the academic interests relating to the Law. The Pharisees were "Separatists," and they formed an inner circle within the people; they called their members *chaberim,* or "Associates." Upon the outside Gentile world they looked with contempt; the Sadducees they hated as sinners; and the ordinary Jew they regarded as *'am haarez,* or "common people." As a whole they represented the legalism of Nehemiah and Ezra carried to its logical extreme.

301. **The Sadducees.** The Sadducees were the political aristocracy, and from the religious point of view, the Liberal party. They were priests and held the temple and its services sacred; but they were in favor of Hellenistic culture. Theologically, they differed from the Pharisees in denying the authority of the traditional interpretation of the Law, that is, the oral Law as distinguished from the written Law; in denying the existence of angels and spirits, the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul, and a fatalistic conception of the moral world.

302. **The Essenes.** The Essenes represent a fuller development of the Pharisaic conception of holiness by separation, with a mixture of elements from foreign cults. In their asceticism and communism the Essenes were a monastic order. Admission to the order was made difficult by periods of probation, lasting one year, and a further two years. When admitted the novitiate had to take a solemn oath that he would honor God, do his duty toward man,

to do no one an evil, to hate the unjust and aid the righteous, to be in subjection to civil authority, not to be overbearing in authority, not to dress with extravagance, to speak the truth and to correct liars, not to steal nor obtain profit falsely, to be frank with members of the order, but not to reveal their secrets, even if tortured to death, not to misrepresent their doctrines, to withhold from robbery, and to keep secret the sacred books and the names of the angels (Josephus, Wars, ii, 8. 7). The Essenes wore white garments; bathed often, and always before the communal meal, which appears to have had a sacred character. Their daily life was strictly regulated and employed in useful effort; they held to a community of property, discarded slavery, marriage, oaths, and sacrifices. Their attitude toward the sun is described by Josephus as follows: "Before sunrise they allow no unholy word to proceed from their lips; but they offer certain prayers, which they have received from their forefathers, as if they were praying for its rising" (Wars, ii, 8. 5). They distinguish themselves from the Pharisees by emphasizing the immortality of the soul over against the resurrection of the body, but apparently share their idea of fatalism.

It must appear that the Essenes represent a highly significant moral movement within Judaism; and we can scarcely fail to see some striking resemblances between it and the movement represented by John the Baptist.

303. Zealots and Herodians. The Zealots were Pharisees who were too impatient to pursue the waiting policy in leaving to God the establishment of the Jewish government for which they longed. They, accordingly, favored a national uprising against Rome; and they found a leader in Judas the Galilæan, who caused a revolt when Cyrenius the Roman governor took the census for the collection of the Roman tribute (Acts 5. 37; and compare Luke 2. 2). Their hatred for the Romans grew with their failure to accomplish their purpose. They became cruel bandits and

were largely responsible for the ultimate destruction of the Jewish nation by the Romans (Josephus, Wars, iv, 3. 9; 5. 1; 6. 3; vii, 8. 1). The Herodians were Sadducees who favored the Herodian family as Jewish rulers.

304. The Conception of God. The religious and ethical conceptions of Judaism, as we meet them at the beginning of the Christian era, are far from being formulated into a system. They were the result of an extended process of development, and as they contained elements from various sources and periods, they would hardly have absolute consistency.

The conception of God represented the accumulation of the contributions of all the preceding periods, and it included: (1) the monotheistic conception of the oneness of God, implying that there exists only one God and that he is the God of the Jews; (2) the transcendence of God, expressing his greatness and might by which he is exalted above the world; (3) the spirituality of God, involving his omniscience, righteousness, goodness, and mercy, faithfulness, and holiness, and particularly the quality which emphasized his character as the rewarder of the pious and punisher of the wicked, or the God of judgment; (4) the national character of God, as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who chose Israel and gave it the Law; and (5) God as the creator and preserver of his creatures. There are some faint anticipations of the Fatherhood of God, going beyond the national to the individual sense; and men are called God's children (Psalms of Solomon, 17. 30; Enoch, 62. 11). But more characteristic is the dread with which the naming of God is avoided and the use of substitutions, as "Heaven" (1 Macc 3. 18f., 50, 60; 4. 10, 24); compare the phrase "kingdom of heaven" for "kingdom of God" (Matt. 5. 3; Luke 6. 20); the "Name," the "Voice," the Shekinah, or "Glory," and others. The proper name "Jehovah" (or, more properly, "Yahwé") came into such disuse that its pronunciation has been entirely

lost. On the whole, the dominant Jewish conception was that of his distance from man, and herein it radically differed from that of the prophets.

305. The Ethical Ideals. The emphasis upon the Law and its strict observance very naturally affected the ethical ideals of Judaism. The parable of the Pharisee and publican (Luke 18. 9ff.) describes both the good and evils of the ideals. The keeping of the Law tended to make men moral; it kept them from being extortioners, unjust, adulterers, and from many other sins; and the life of the conscientious Pharisee, as we may see it illustrated in the life and character of Paul before his conversion, was no doubt in many respects exemplary, and incomparably better than that of those who knew no such restraints. But the emphasis came to be placed upon ceremonialism, the Sabbath, formal prayer, fasting, tithing, foods, and ablutions, leading to a mechanical formalism. When one reads the regulations as to how and when to recite one of the sublimest ethical passages in the Old Testament, containing the words: "Hear, O Israel: Jehovah our God, Jehovah is One: and thou shalt love Jehovah thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might" (Deut 6. 4f), and notices the rabbinical quibbling over the questions whether it is to be recited standing or lying, audibly or inaudibly, as early in the morning when one can distinguish between the colors of sky-blue or leek-green, and finds no reference to its ethical import, one realizes how shallow, after all, must have been the ethical interest in keeping the Law. The conscientious Pharisee would find it an impossible task to keep all the details, and be compelled to live under the dread of an offended God; and the unconscientious Pharisee would make his legalism the cloak to hide his real character. On the whole, then, the priestly ideals of righteousness were a retrogression from those of the prophets, who looked for the day when the ethical law should be written upon men's consciences.

306. The Messianic Hopes. The general tendency of Old Testament history and thought had been to stimulate certain expectations of a future condition which had their central thought in the person of the Messiah. At the beginning of the Christian era these hopes had assumed, generally speaking, two different forms, which for convenience of review may be distinguished as (1) the national hope, and (2) the apocalyptic hope.

The national hope has "the son of David" as the central figure of the Messianic kingdom. It implies a national restoration of Israel; its sphere is this earth purified with Palestine, Jerusalem, and Zion as its center; and its subjects are the Jews in contrast with the Gentiles. This conception is easily recognized in its general features as that of the prophets. It found its fullest later expression in the Psalms of the Pharisees, commonly called the Psalms of Solomon, proceeding from the period of 70-40 B. C. The following selection is an illustration of its character:

Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king, the son of David, in the time which thou, O God, knowest, that he may reign over Israel thy servant;

And gird him with strength that he may break in pieces them that rule unjustly.

Purge Jerusalem from the heathen that trample her down to destroy her, with wisdom and with righteousness.

He shall thrust out the sinners from the inheritance, utterly destroy the proud spirit of the sinners, and as potter's vessels with a rod of iron shall he break in pieces all their substance.

He shall destroy the ungodly nations with the word of his mouth, so that at his rebuke the nations may flee before him, and he shall convict the sinners in the thoughts of their hearts.

And he shall gather together a holy people, whom he shall lead in righteousness; and shall judge the tribes of the people that hath been sanctified by the Lord his God.

And he shall not suffer iniquity to lodge in their midst; and none that knoweth wickedness shall dwell with them.

For he shall take knowledge of them, that they be all the sons of their God, and shall divide them upon the earth according to their tribes.

And the sojourner and the stranger shall dwell with them no more.

He shall judge the nations and the peoples with the wisdom of his righteousness. Selah (Psalms of Solomon, XVII, 23-31; edited by Ryle and James, p. 137ff.).

The apocalyptic hope has "the Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven," conceived as a heavenly being, as its central figure. In the place of national Israel appears here universal mankind; instead of Palestine, heaven and earth, and the entire cosmic forces; the earthly world is displaced by a heavenly world; the age that is now gives way to the age that is to come; mortality gives way to immortality; the old world passes away and a new one is made; a general judgment, prepared for by the resurrection of the dead, determines the eternal bliss of the righteous and the eternal damnation or annihilation of the wicked. This conception is the product of the Jewish apocalyptic writers who multiplied considerably from the time of Daniel (see Section 261). As illustrative of this Messianic conception, we may take the following passages from the Book of Enoch:

"And there I saw One who had a head of days, and His head was white like wool, and with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man and his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels. And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, and why he went with the Head of Days? And he answered and said unto me: "This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness, with whom dwelleth righteousness, and who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden, because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him, and his lot before the Lord of Spirits hath surpassed everything in uprightness for ever. And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen will arouse the kings and the mighty ones from their couches and the strong from their thrones, and will loosen the reins of the strong and grind to powder the teeth of the sinners. And he will put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms because they do not extol and praise him, nor thankfully acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed upon them. And he will put down the countenance of the strong and shame will cover them; darkness will be their dwelling

and worms their bed, and they will have no hope of rising from their beds because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits" (Enoch, XLVI, 1-6).

"And one portion of them will look on the other, and they will be terrified, and their countenance will fall, and pain will seize them when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory. And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the earth will glorify and bless and extol him who rules over all, who was hidden. For the Son of Man was hidden before Him and the Most High preserved him in the presence of His might and revealed him to the elect. . . . And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth will fall down on their faces before him and worship and set their hope upon that Son of Man, and will petition him to supplicate for mercy at his hand" (Enoch, LXII, 5ff.).

It must, however, be admitted that while it is possible, broadly speaking, to recognize these two different conceptions, as indicated, they are not always consistently distinguished in the literature, but the two features are often blended into one.

307. The Messianic Conception of the Suffering Servant. There existed, however, another Messianic conception, which the Old Testament had furnished, but which had attracted but little or no attention. It was the ideal of the Suffering Servant of Jehovah (see Sections 201 and 236). It was not of such a nature as to appeal to many; and it may well be questioned whether it was current at all as a Messianic conception in the thought even of the most spiritual few prior to the rise of Christianity. But it was in the thought of Him whose uniqueness consisted among other things in embodying in his ideals the best elements of the Old Testament. It was Jesus the Prophet of Nazareth who evidently made the Suffering Servant his Messianic ideal; and through him self-sacrificing service to humanity—even unto death—has become the central teaching of Christianity.

308. Summary. We have now surveyed the entire sweep of Old Testament history, and its marked tendencies

have appeared. We have seen how during the first period the material development was uppermost; and how the Hebrews emerged from it with a well-organized national government. We have seen also how the second period brought Israel with the dissolution of its state the consciousness of its national mission to be the missionaries of the noblest moral and spiritual ideals to the world. But we have further seen how during the third period the tendencies to formalism and particularism nearly undid the mighty work of Israel's prophets.

Here our task is ended, although the historical movement itself has not ceased; for Christianity is the outcome of Old Testament history. In the rise of Christianity the prophetic and priestly ideals of the Old Testament came into a fresh conflict. Pharisaism was the most formidable antagonist of the gospel. But in Christianity prophetism carried off the victory and started on its divine mission to conquer the world for God.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

1. Consider the origin of the scribes and how they became the religious leaders in the place of the prophet, priest, and sage.
2. Consider the object and character of the legislation of the scribes.
3. Consider the origin of the synagogue and its place in the Jewish life of this period.
4. Read Luke 4. 16-30 as illustrating a service in the synagogue.
5. Consider the Jewish parties and obtain a clear view of the principles of each.
6. Consider the prevailing conception of God at the end of the Old Testament period and wherein it differed from the prophetic conception.
7. Consider the ethical ideals of the type of a Jew like Paul before his conversion.
8. Consider the prevailing Messianic conceptions and the Old Testament basis for the Messianic conception of Jesus.
9. Summarize the movement of Old Testament history as a preparation for Christianity.

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